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IRELAND'S CASE

BRIEFLY STATED;

K. O R,

A Summary Account  
of the most Remarka-  
ble Transactions in  
that Kingdom since  
the Reformation.

THE FIRST PART.

By a True Lover of his  
King and Country.

*Great is Truth, and Mighty above  
all things. 3 Esdras. 4. 41.*

*Strive for the Truth unto Death,  
and the Lord shall fight for  
thee. Eccclus. 4. 28.*

Printed in the year 1695.

601. d. 15



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7. Ad.



## THE PREFACE.

**T**HE *Affairs* of Ireland, ever since *Licentiousness* appear'd there under the Cloak of *Gospel-Liberty*, have been so strangely misrepresented abroad, especially in *England*, where every *Passage* was stuff'd with such *groundless Fictions* and *malicious Calumnies*, industriously contriv'd and spread about by a Sort of *People*, who seem'd to believe they cou'd do no greater *Service* to the *God* of

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*Truth*, than to *Act* the part of the *Father* of *Lies*; That it is no easy matter for ordinary *Enquirers* to trace out the naked *Truth* of any Thing transacted in that *Country* these hundred years past, at least to the *Satisfaction* of those, who are too much prepossess'd and wedded to their *first Notions*, and perhaps have in this *Case* no great *mind* to be undeceiv'd.

'Tis a true Saying, *Opinion* governs the *World*, and of all *Opinions* that of *Interest* is the most *Powerful*. It was *S. Paul's* Sentiment, that *Godliness* is great *Gain* \*; but the *Reform'd Saints* of this *Age* invert the *Maxim*, and do rather

\* 1. Tim.  
6. 6.

## THE PREFACE.

ther conclude, that *Gaine is great Godliness.* Upon this *Godly Motive* it was, that Our *zealous Reformers* went into *Ireland* to propagate their *Gospel*, where they took more *paines* to make the *Land* turn *Protestant* than the *People*; The *Confiscation of Men's Estates* (as *K. Charles the first* well observ'd of that *Tribe's Apostolical Spirit*) being more *beneficial*, than the *charity of saving their Lives*, or *Reforming their Errors* \*. And because they cou'd not compass this so effectually, without rendering the *Catholic Proprietors* very black and odious to the *World*, their great zeal for *Converting those Popish*

\* Icon  
Basil.  
chap. 12.

## THE PREFACE.

*Acres* made them stick at nothing that might forward so *Holy a Design*; And therefore in all *Cases* their chief *Text* was, Throw dirt enough, something will stick; *Calumniare fortiter, aliquid adhærebit.*

Hence it is, that those *Protestants* who went to settle in *Ireland*, and writ of what pass'd there either in their own *Time* or before, especially since the *Reformation*, took all possible *Care* to stifle or disguise the *Truth*, and were so far from mentioning any thing, at least as far as ever I cou'd find, that might be of any *Credit* or *Advantage* to the *Catholic Natives*,



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*Natives*, except some few *Passages* in *Sir John Davis*, that they loaded them on every *Occasion* with all the *Calumnies* Wit or Malice cou'd invent. And those their *malicious*, and groundless *Fictions* they impos'd for *Truth* not only upon the inferior Sort of *English Historians*, who being all *Protestants*, and generally *Fanatics*, were apt to catch at any *Bulrush* for promoting their *Good Old Cause*, but even upon those of the *first magnitude*, particularly the Learned *Antiquary M<sup>r</sup>. Cambden*, whose *Errors* of that kind gave just *Occasion* to the known and true *Epigram*;

*Angli-*

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*Angligenas oculis lustras, Camb-*  
*dene, duobus;*

*Uno oculo Scotos; Cæcus, Hiber-*  
*nigenas.*

Of this sort of *Writers* we have a *Cloud* of *Instances*, but a very remarkable one in *Sir John Temple*, who writ as many *Lies* in a manner, as *Lines*, in his *Romantic Legend* of the *Irish Rebellion*, on purpose to blacken the *People*, and exasperate the *Republicans* of *England* against them, and against the *King* too, upon the *Account* of the *Murders* he pretends to have been there committed, whereof the *Hundredth* part was not true. And in our own days, the *Reverend*

THE PREFACE.

D. King, the Pillar of the Party, shews plainly in his late *Elaborate Piece*, what Spirit our Irish Reformers are of, when their Interest prompts them to play the Devil in God's Name.

It were too tedious, and indeed not worth the while, to mention the rest; They are all of a piece, and as the Scotchman sayes, *The De'el a Barrel better Herring*: Inso-much that if they did not abominate *Confession*, as much as they hate to make *Restitution*, (which tho' undoubtedly one of the most essential parts of a *Repenting Christian's Duty*, is yet never preach'd nor practis'd by

## THE PREFACE.

Protestants, let them wrong their Neighbors (never so much) they might all unanimously cry with the Scornfull Rulers of Jerusalem, mention'd by the Prophet: *We have made Lies our Refuge, and under Falshood have we hid ourselves* \*. For, it seems very plain, that the same active Envoy, who offer'd to be a Lying Spirit in the Mouth of all the Prophets of K. \* Ahab, perform'd his part with a witness among these Evangelical Seers.

\* Isa. 28.  
15.

\* 1.  
Kings.  
21. 22.

For my part, I can affirm, I have here endeavor'd to trace out and deliver the Truth, as near as possibly I cou'd in so Short a Dis-

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*Discourse; And the Chief Points of what is related in the following Treatise, I have taken from Authentic Records, and the most Impartial Memoirs of those Times, or from Living Witnesses of Quality and undoubted Probity; only in some few Cases I follow'd the common and constant Tradition of the most knowing People of that Country; which, in my Opinion, is much more Warrantable than the Malicious, Incoherent, and in some Cases morally Impossible, Relation of Others. I am still ready to stand corrected, when better Prooffs are produc'd; for there is nothing I Love so intirely as Truth and Justice:*

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*Since*: And therefore I will hold myself oblig'd to any one, that will give a more exact Account of those Affairs, with such Prooffs as may seem Reasonable to any Indifferent Person, without Shuffling, or going about the Bush. In the mean time, I will upon these Terms conclude with the Poet,

----*Siquid novisti rectius istis,  
Candidus imperti; Si non, his  
utere mecum.*



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# IRELAND'S CASE

## BRIEFLY STATED.



AS *Q. Mary*  
dyed, *Elizabeth*, *Henry*  
the eighth's daughter by  
*Anne Bullen*, was assum'd  
to the *Crown* through  
the fatal stupidity of the *Catholick*  
*Clergy* and *Laity*, who were then by  
much the major part of the *King-*  
*dom*, and the men chiefly in *Power*;  
yet foolishly preferring a *Bastard* of  
their own *Country* before the lawfull  
issue of *Henry* the seventh's eldest  
daughter marryed into *Scotland*;  
they unanimously proclaim'd *Eliza-*  
*beth* Queen of *England*; Altho';  
besides many other prooffs of her  
being illegitimate, they knew very  
wel that she had been so declar'd  
by two *Acts* of *Parliament* then in  
*I. Part.* A force,

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force, and never yet Repeal'd.

This *Queen* being sensible that by the ancient and known *Laws* of the *Catholick Church*, and the *Decrees* of several *Popes*, which she cou'd not expect to get repeal'd, she was a *notorious Bastard*, and consequently had no *Right* to the *Crown*, (as in truth she had no more by the fundamental *Laws* of the Land than the late *D. of Monmouth*) openly declar'd herself a *Protestant*, and resolv'd to establish that sort of profession in all her *Dominions*; In which undertaking her *Preachers* had much the same success that the *Harlot* boasted of to *Socrates*, that she cou'd find more followers than he, notwithstanding all his *Philosophy*, because (as that great man answer'd) she propos'd the loose way of vice and wickednesse, while himself preach'd the rugged path of virtue.

In *England* she got her *Parliaments* to pass what *Laws* she pleas'd to that purpose, and to turn *Protestants*

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*stants* too for company, as being the easier way to *Heaven*; For till then the silly *Papists* thought themselves very happy, if they cou'd reach thither at any rate, not only like *Pilgrims* a foot, but with a continued exercise of tedious *Fastings*, large *Almsdeeds*, frequent *Confessions*, austere *Pennance*, and over and above all this, a full and free *Restitution* to the utmost of their power, whensoever they had injur'd their Neighbors: But upon a new *Protestant Discovery* of the *North-east Passage* to *Paradise*, they found they might go to *Heaven* in *Coaches*, and be secur'd of the *Land of Promise* without all that superfluous foppery, which cou'd availe them nothing. Wherefore this edifying doctrine of *Gospel-Liberty*, so charming for its novelty, and so agreeable to flesh and blood, was immediatly receiv'd in *England* with open arms; and for fear the changeable People shou'd offer at any

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time to prefer the *Fleshpots* of *Egypt* before this *heavenly Manna*, it was there establish'd by dint of Law.

But in *Ireland* the incorrigible Fools were more steady and fixt in their ancient way of *Worship*; For, altho' in *Hen.* the eighth's time they were strangely impos'd upon, and made believe that the chief quarrell this *King* had with the *Pope* was purely about *Civill Affairs*, or matters of temporal *Government*; and were confirm'd in this *opinion*, because the *King* himself and his *English Parliament* too, who had declar'd for him against the *Pope*, were at the same time all profess'd *Roman Catholicks*; for which reason the *Irish Parliament* made no scruple to pass several extravagant *Acts* against the *Papal Jurisdiction*, the same in effect that had pass'd before in the *Parliament* of *England*: yet having had time to consider of what they had done, and finding that all the *Catholicks* of *Europe* exclaim'd

claim'd against their Proceedings, they no sooner met again in Parliament, which was the third of *Philip and Mary*, but they unanimously repeal'd and abolish'd all the said Statutes. *Q. Eliz.* therefore knowing that the *Irish* cou'd not be again surpriz'd the same way, but to the contrary were resolv'd against all *Innovations in Religion*, caus'd a pack'd *Convention* to assemble under the notion of a *Parliament*, which for the most part consisted of such *Members* as she believ'd might be easily won, or impos'd upon, not to thwart her Designs. For in this *Convention* all possible care was taken that very few of the most *eminent Peers*, and as few of the *Leading Commoners* of the *Kingdom*, shoud meet; by which means, and some other *subsequent devices*, matters were so contriv'd, that several *Acts* were then pawn'd upon the people for granting to that *Queen* the absolute

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disposal of *Ecclesiastical Livings*, especially of *Bishopricks*; for enjoining her new *Oath of Supremacy*, and utterly abolishing the *Popes Jurisdiction*; And to compleat the work, for establishing instead of the *Mass* her *Book of Common-Prayer*, with severe penaltyes upon such as shou'd oppose any branch of this precious *Reformation*.

Now that these pretended Statutes were gain'd by tricks and sinister wayes, and not by the free and legal consent of the *Representative Body* of the *Nation*, plainly appears from this undeniable *Truth*, That not one in 500 of the *Natives* was then Protestant, or became so during *Queen Elizabeth's Reign*; which cou'd not possibly have happen'd, no more than it did in *England* and *Scotland*, had the *Irish Lords & Commons* freely consented to the enacting of such Laws. And for a further confirmation of this truth 'tis to be observ'd,  
that



that while those liv'd who sate in the said *Convention*, and knew very wel that no such *Acts* were pass'd by them, this *Queen* never ventur'd to put them in execution, nor indeed to make any great noise there were such *Statutes* in being, until after the *Spanish Armada*, which came to invade her in the year 1588, was utterly defeated.

That *Spanish* cloud was no sooner dispers'd, than *Q. Eliz.* resolv'd to fall upon the *Irish* with all the severity imaginable, in order to force her pretended *Reformation* upon them; first, she prosecuted some on pretence of having reliev'd a few *Spaniards* cast by stress of weather upon the *Coast* of *Ireland*; Then, she order'd others to be seiz'd on for having harbour'd *Carholick Bishops, Priests, and Fryers*; And a great many more were question'd for having been at *Masse*, or not come to the *Protestant Meetings*, as they were enjoyn'd by the said pre-

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pretended *Acts* of Parliament.

Tyrone's  
War.

The *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *Ireland*, particularly the *Earl of Tyrone* & several others of the *Leading men* of the *Nation*, were strangely alarm'd at this illegal way of proceeding; for they plainly saw there was no choice now left, but either to abjure their *Religion*, or to stand in their own just defence against the *arbitrary Encroachments* of that *Usurper*. They chose to venture upon the later, and the rather because of the encouragement they receiv'd not only from the *Spaniards*, who promis'd them mighty *Succors*, but also from *James* the sixth, *King of Scotland*, who tho' bred a *Protestant*, yet as well to revenge his mother *Q. Mary's* barbarous Murder, the undoubted *Heiress* of the *Crown* of *England* and *Ireland*, as also to divert and weaken the *English*, in case they shou'd oppose his *Rightfull Succession*, sent them under hand more effectual

effectual Supplies from time to time, than the Spaniards did, notwithstanding their great Promises.

Hereupon a War ensued, which lasted several years, and ended not till Queen Elizabeth was expiring. The Lord Montjoy, then her Deputy of Ireland, finding she was despair'd of by her Physicians, and not knowing what Revolution might happen in England upon her Death, employ'd some friends under hand to make overtures to the Earl of Tyrone of a general Amnesty for himself and all his Adherents, the free exercise of their Religion, and a full enjoyment of their Estates and fortunes, on condition they wou'd speedily lay down their Arms. Tyrone and his party accepted of these terms, and were thereupon every one of them restor'd to their former Possessions, which they peaceably enjoy'd for several years after. The Summer following Tyrone goes for England to submit  
 I. Part. B him;

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himself in person to *K. James*, who now succeeded *Q. Elizabeth* in the *English Throne*, where he was not only well received by the *King*, as *Baker* observes, but also had a *Proclamation* issued in his favor, that he shou'd be us'd by all men with honor and respect.

The  
Powder-  
Plot.

This *King*, while he was in *Scotland*, gave great hopes to the *English Catholics*, and to the *Pope* himself, of his favorable intentions towards their Party, and promis'd them his *Protection* and favor in case he succeeded *Q. Elizabeth*; Nay, there was an express *Letter* under the *King's* hand and seal sent to *Clement* the eighth then *Pope*, to assure his *Holiness* of his *Majesties* inclination to become a *Roman-Catholic* when he was settled in the *English Throne*; as \* *Sanderfon* and several others mention, but with this addition of their own, that the *Letter* was sent by the fraud of the *Scotch Secretary of State*. But howe-

\* In his *K. James*, edit. London. 1655. page 248a

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It was, 'tis most certain, that the King was soon diverted from all this by the fraud and wicked artifice of the *English Secretary, Crook-back'd Cecil*, by whom after the said Letter was bought out of the *Pope's Cabinet*, his Majesty was prevail'd upon to shew that Party no manner of *Countenance*, but to the contrary to pass very severe *Laws* against them upon the account of the horrid *Powder - Plott*, which was soon after fram'd by the contrivances of that *crafty Minister*, but father'd upon the *English Catholics*, because some 13 turbulent spirits of them, men for the most part of *desperate Estates*, as they are describ'd in *K. James's* own *Proclamation*, were wheedl'd into it by that crooked *Achitophel*, as their likelyest way to be secur'd against the *bloody Penal Laws* of *Q. Elizabeth*.

See Proclamation  
7. Novemb.  
1605.

I know this point has been sufficiently bandyed to and fro by  
able

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able Pens both *Protestant* and *Catholick*; but upon the whole matter I am clearly of opinion, that no rational man, who impartially weighs all the strange Circumstances of that hellish Contrivance (as they are represented by several *writers* of both sides, but more fully handled by the *Honorable* and *Ingenious Author* of the *Catholick Apology*, \* printed anno 1674.) but must believe, that none was more deeply concern'd therein than *Cecil* himself: For, if we consider first, the number, the quality, and the interest of the *Plotters*, so very unlikely to carry on a Design of that extraordinary nature: Secondly, The unaccountable *Romantick* manner of its discovery by a \* *Letter* from an unknown hand, which cou'd not possibly have been penn'd by any reall *Plotter* in his wits, much less sent ten \* dayes before

\* In h's 28.  
Reply. p.  
399.

\* Bakers  
Chron.  
edit. anno  
1679.  
p. 410.

\* Sander-  
son's K.  
James.  
page 323.

Hov's K. James edit. anno 1631. page 375. and  
here.

the



the intended execution, when the sending it on the very eve wou'd have done much better; Thirdly, how the *Ringleaders* \* *Catesby* and *Piercy*, who best knew the bottom of the design, were kill'd upon the spot, as \* *Tresham* dyed in few dayes after he was sent to the *Tower*, and of a *strangury* forsooth, which was ever reputed a lingring distemper; And in fine, if we call to mind how wicked *Statesmen* have often us'd the like practices for ends of their own, as *Cecil's* own father the Lord *Burleigh* and his Predecessor \* *Walsingham* had frequently done in *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, even as in our own dayes the Tyrant *Cromwell* contriv'd several such *Plots* for ensnaring the *Loyal Cavaliers*; and *Cecil Redivivus*, creeping *Shaftsbury*, was no less dexterous in the late *King's* dayes: All these circumstances, I say, duely & impartially consider'd, we cannot but conclude, as *Osborn*

I. Part. C an

\* Baker  
p. 410.

\* Baker  
ibidem

\* Camden  
edit. anno  
1627. ad  
annum  
1586. p. 408.

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an Inquisitive Protestant Author of those times has already done, who plainly sayes, that \* the Powder Plot was a neat device of the Treasurer, i. e. of Crook-back'd Cecil, who after he had done this mighty piece of service was in few months made Knight of the Garter, and in fewer years high Treasurer of England.

This haughty Haman, now puff'd up with success, shew'd himself so open and so inveterate an Enemy to his Catholick Countrymen, that he was accus'd ( as Sanderson \* mentions ) of determining their utter extirpation. Neither did his malice stop here, but being a fam'd Professor in tricks, ( as \* Osborn describes him ) and finding how well his wicked Stratagem took in London, he frames a Project to carry on the like design in Ireland. In order to this, Christopher S. Lawrence, commonly call'd the blind Lord of Hoath, was wrought upon to

\* Osborns  
Historical  
Memoires  
edit. anno  
1658. page  
36.

\* In his K.  
James,  
page 335.

\* Hist. Me-  
moires, p.  
37. & 38.

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to invite the Earls of Tyrone and Tyconnell, the Lord Baron of Delvin, and several other Leading men of the Irish Catholics to a Meeting, wherein having first perswaded them to an Oath of Secrecy, as having somewhat of great moment to tell them, he declares, that to his knowlege the State had resolv'd to force the Catholics of Ireland to become Protestants; And that to prevent this Mischief they had no way left but their speedy and unanimous Resolution to stand in their own defence, untill they were secur'd against all alterations in Religion. The Proposal was no sooner made, than rejected unanimously by the whole Company, alleaging they had no reason to apprehend any such usage contrary to Publick Faith; That K. James was a just Prince, and by an undoubted Right their Lawfull Sovereign: And therefore that they wou'd not rashly venture upon so dangerous an

in his K.  
James, page  
338  
chris. lib.  
3201  
181

Undertaking. Nevertheless, *S. Lawrence* goes immediately to the *Lord Deputy*, and discovers their meeting, charging them with a *reasonable Conspiracy*; whereupon *Tyrone* and the rest were sent for, and examin'd before the *Council*, where they stiffly denyed the whole matter; but seeing *S. Lawrence* appear to confront them, they acknowledg'd there had been indeed such a *Meeting* and *Proposal* made by *S. Lawrence*, but unanimously rejected by them for divers Reasons, which they then repeated. They were severally examin'd, but all agreeing, and nothing appearing against them but one single witness, the *Council* did not think fit to committ them, but order'd them to appear again the next day. In the mean time they were under hand advis'd by some *pretended friends* in the *Council* to save themselves, for fear of being imprison'd till some other corrupted Evidence might

might be found, which they were  
 assur'd was design'd. This knavish  
 Advice the said *Earls* foolishly took,  
 and were thereupon declar'd *Re-*  
*bels*, and not only their own *par-*  
*ticular Estates*, but also fix intire  
*Countyes* in *Ulster* were seiz'd upon  
 as forfeited to the *Crown*, without  
 any further *Hearing* or *Legal Tryall*;  
 and divided among several *English*  
 and *Scotch Protestants*, on such Con-  
 ditions as made it plaine, the *Na-*  
*tives* together with their *Religion*  
 were to be for ever suppress'd;  
 For, they were prohibited under  
*pecuniary Mulcts* and other severe  
*Penalties* from the Exercise of it,  
 and in every *Grant* there was a *spe-*  
*cial Proviso* in the *Letters Patent*  
 that no part of those Lands shou'd  
 be sett to Farm, at least not sold or  
 transfer'd to any but to *English*  
 and *Scotch Protestants*. At the same  
 time *S. Lawrence*, notwithstanding  
 the great *zeal* he pretended but a  
 little before for the preservation of

the *Catholick Religion*, turn'd *Protestant*, and upon that account had no small share of the spoil.

There is no doubt but this strange usage caus'd great heart-burnings among the *Irish*, especially those of the said six *Escheated Countyes*; who were the immediate Sufferers; yet they patiently bore their *Afflictions*, until they found that their *Enemies* malice was not to rest there, but had resolv'd to extirpate their whole *Nation*, or force them to renounce their *Religion*. The *Earl of Strafford* alarm'd a great many by the sinister wayes he took, during his *Government* of that *Kingdom*, to find flaws in the *Titles* of several *Gentlemen* to their ancient *Estates* in *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Connaght*; which he did, not to serve the *King*, but to enrich himself and his *Creatures*. Among the many *Instances* that cou'd be given of this kind, that of the *Territory* of *Idough* in the *County* of *Kilkenny*,



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is very remarkable; For, *Strafford* being resolv'd to seize upon that scope of Land, and finding no legal cause against the *Proprietors*, who had been in the quiet and peaceable Possession thereof for some ages, he caus'd an *Inquisition* to be taken about the year 1635, whereby that whole *Territory* was found in the *King*, upon no other pretence, but that *Hen. the Second* was entitled to it near upon 500 years before: And upon this single account he turns the former *Proprietors* out of doors, and gets the same granted by *Letters Patent* to his own *Relation*; Sir *Christopher Wandesford*.  
*Ex ungue Leonem.*

This was another, and a very shrewd *Warning piece* to make the *Irish* apprehend what usage they were like to expect; but they were threaten'd far worse afterwards, when the *Presbyterian Party* in *England* and *Scotland*, having concerted among themselves, and resolv'd  
to

to run down *Episcopacy* and the *Monarchy* too, had wheedled *K. Charles* the first into such prodigious Concessions, especially that fatal Mistake of making his *English Parliament* perpetual, that it was no longer in his power to stop their Carreer: For then their *Brethren in Iniquity*, the *Fanaticks* of *Ireland*, who all the while kept a strict Correspondence with those of *England*, concluded that now or never was the time for them to extirpate the *Irish Catholics* root and branch. To compass this Godly Project they fram'd a \* *Petition* address'd to the *English Parliament*, and got it sign'd by many thousand hands, Praying that the *Irish Papists* might be forc'd either to turn *Protestants*, or to Abjure the *Kingdom*, and such as shou'd prove *Refractory*, to be hang'd at their own Doors. And so sure they were of carrying this Point, that several of them declar'd openly and above board, even at the

\* See the Narrative of the late Troubles in Ireland, edit. London anno 1660. p. 3.

the *Council-table*, that within a twelvemonth there shou'd not be a *Catholick* to be seen in *Ireland*.

Here we have a hopeful *Scheme* of a *Protestant Thorow-Reformation*, where *knocking Arguments* are urg'd, not to convince *People's Judgements*, but in effect to beat out their *Brains*; a practice never thought of, much less us'd, by the most *Renowned* of our *Primitive Christians* towards the very *Heathens*. For the *Roman Emperors*, after they happily submitted the *Eagle* to the *Crosse of Christ*, were so far from offering any such force or violence to those, who were educated in the *Pagan* way of *Worship*, that they never propos'd to have them punish'd either in *Purse* or *Person* for not conforming to the *Christian Faith*; because they cou'd not but think it highly unreasonable, that a *People*, who brought in no *New sort of Religion*, either of their own, or of any others late *Invention*,  
*and I. Part.* D but

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but were in the peaceable Possession of an *Old one* for many hundreds, if not thousands, of years, before the *Gospel* was known in the World, shou'd be otherwise dealt with in order to their *Conversion*, than by *Prayers*, *Preaching*, and convincing *Reasons*, the only Methods prescrib'd and practis'd by *Christ* and his *Apostles*. Thus did the *Glory* of our *British Isle*, the *Great Constantine*, ( as appears by his *Edict* recorded by *Eusebius* \* in that Emperors Life ) endeavor with strong and solid Arguments to perswade his *Heathen Subjects* to quitt their vaine and foolish Idolatry, and embrace the *Truth* of the *Gospel*; yet he never offer'd to force any, but to the contrary declar'd, that he left them a free *Liberty* to follow their own Inclination. And to come nearer home, thus did *K. Ethelbert*, the first *English Christian Monarch*, after he was converted by *S. Austin* the *Monk*, deal with his

*Pagan*

\* Lib. 2 de  
vita Con-  
stantini,  
c. 47. &c,

Pagan Subjects, of whom he never persecuted any (as *Venerable Bede* informs us) but gave every body the freedom of his Conscience: For, as the same \* *Author* observes, He learnt from those who taught him the Way of Salvation, that the service of Christ must be no forc'd Compliance, but a free and voluntary Obedience. Nevertheless, our new sort of *Saints* must have new Methods of their own, so as to outdo even the furious zeal of the *Arrian Reformers*, who were the first Contrivers among *Christians* of that unchristian way of Reforming the *Catholic Church* by Penal Laws and Persecutions; And therefore the *Catholicks* of *Ireland*, who for twelve hundred years together stuck to the Faith they first receiv'd from their *Apostle S. Patrick*, must now be convinc'd by *Halters* and by *Gibbets*, that their *Ancestors* were all in the wrong, and that *Christ* stood in need of *Luther* and *Calvin's* new

\* Didicerat enim et a doctoribus, auctoribusque suae salutis, servitium Christi voluntarium non coactionem esse debere. Bedae lib. 1. Hist. gentis Anglorum cap. 25.

Reve-

## 24 IRELAND'S CASES

*Revelations* to Refine his Gospel, and to Rebuild his Church, which was quite gone to decay, notwithstanding all his fair Promises to the contrary. And what is the *Natural Consequence* of all this, but that *Bernardinus* \* *Ochinus* was in the Right, and that Men of sense cannot in reason believe in such a *Lying Messiah*, as JESUS-CHRIST?

\* See fir  
Keneelm  
Digby's  
Observa-  
tions on  
Religio  
Medici.

But to pursue our present Purpose, the barbarous *Petition* aforesaid came at last to the knowledge of some *Catholick Gentlemen* in *Ulster*, as it was there handed about in order to get more Subscriptions, and that by the means of one *M<sup>r</sup>. Primrose*, a Minister living near *Crum-Castle*, into whose hands it came, that it might be Sign'd both by himself and by the chief *Protestants* of his *Parish* and *Neighbourhood*. But he, as he was a Moral honest man, and no Enemy to the *Roman-Catholick Religion*, being astonish'd at so *unchristian* a Design,



sign, which he knew was vastly different from the Spirit of the *Primitive Church*, (the Pattern these *Protestants* pretended to follow) shew'd the *Petition* to the said *Catholicks*, who soon after complain'd of it to the *Judges* then going the Circuit, and to some other *Magistrates*, but all to no purpose; For upon the whole matter, they were rather confirm'd in their apprehensions of the approaching danger, than eas'd with any hopes of Security. This put the *Catholicks* of the whole *Kingdom* into a very great Consternation, and the rather because they knew the *Lords Justices*, Sir *William Parsons* and Sir *John Borlase*, were not only rank *Presbyterians*, but openly for the *Parliament* against the *King*, so that no *Redress* cou'd be expected at their hands. And on the other side, they found that his *Majesty's* Affairs were so far embroil'd in *England*, that it was not in his

*I. Part.* E power

power to relieve them; For, if the *H. of Commons* there carry'd it so high against the *Protestant Bishops* and *Clergy* establish'd by Law, (to say nothing of *Strafford's* unparallel'd usage) it was in vaine for *Catholicks*, especially for those of *Ireland*, to hope for any *Protection* against them. The *people* thus abandon'd on all sides cou'd plainly see their danger, but not the way to escape it; They saw no *Security* but in *Arms*, yet that seem'd too desperate a Remedy even for so desperate a Disease, and besides being no way furnish'd either with *Arms* or *Ammunition*, they were at a stand, not knowing what to do, when all of a sudden an unlucky *Occasion* presented.

The *King* perceiving, but too late, what his *Rebel - Parliament* design'd against him in *England*, sends Instructions by the *Marquess of Antrim* to the *Earl of Ormond*, then *Lieutenant - General* of his *Army* in  
Ire.

*Ireland*, to contrive with his other Loyal Subjects there the best Methods they cou'd for seizing upon the *Parliamentarian Justices*, and declaring in favor of his *Majestie* against the *Proceedings* of the *English Parliament*. *Ormond* communicates the Message to a select number both of *Catholicks* and *Protestants*, and after several Meetings and Debates the matter was at last concerted, and the sixteenth of *November 1641*, when the *Irish Parliament* was to meet, appointed for putting it in execution.

But the *Design* taking wind, and coming to the knowlege of those they call *the Old Irish*, from whom *Ormond* earnestly desir'd it shou'd be kept secret, *Sir Phelim O'Neill* with several others of *Ulster*, resolving to be before hand with his *Lordship*, against whom they were highly incens'd for offering to conceal this *Secret* from them, as if they were less *zealous* than others

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for his *Majesty's* Service, enter'd for the same ends into a *Conspiracy*, perswading themselves that if they succeeded, they shou'd not only be indulg'd in point of *Religion*, as the *Presbyterians* *Covenanters* had lately been in *Scotland*, but also be restor'd to their former *Estates*, out of which they had been dispossess'd but about thirty years before by the *English* and *Scotch* *Protestants*, who now were generally bent for the *Parliament* against the *King*.

The Plot being thus laid, and the twenty third of October 41. appointed for it's execution, to get the start of *Ormond* and his *Party*, *My Lord Maguire* with several others undertook to seize upon the *Lords Justices* and *Castle of Dublin*; but their *Design* being discover'd the night before it was to have been executed, his Lordship was taken, and sent *Prisoner* into *England*. *Sir Phelim O'Neill* and his *Confederates* had better success in *Ulster*, where they

they surpriz'd *Charlemont*, and some other Garrisons.

This is the naked Truth of the *Rise and Original* of the *Irish Insurrection* in Winter 1641, as I have been often assur'd by men of Sense and known Integrity of that *Country*, particularly by a very honest *Gentleman* now in *France*, who above ten years ago affirm'd to me he had it even from *Ormond's* own mouth some years before; And I am fully perswaded, it is the most rational, and most likely *Account* that has been yet given of that *Matter*. And for a further Confirmation of it, the *Marchioness* of *Antrim* stil living, and alwayes a very zealous *Protestant*, and therefore in this Case a *Witness* beyond exception, own'd to some Friends in *London* in the year 1683, that she had often heard the *Marquess* her husband give much the same *Relation* of this particular; and withall to affirm, that *Ormond* had no other

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Ground or Motive for the great *Persecution* he rais'd against him upon the late *Kings Restoration*, but that he suspected him (and that very wrongfully, as the *Marquess* solemnly protested to herself and others) to have discover'd the *Secret* aforesaid to Sir *Phelim Oneill*.

The *Lords Justices*, and most of the *Council*, were not a litle pleas'd at this *Revolution*, and swallowing already in hopes the *Estates* of all the *Catholicks* in the *Kingdom*, which they had long gap'd after, did now resolve to leave no stone unturn'd, fully to compass that Design. They issued several *Proclamations* against the *Ulster-Rebels*, requiring all *Loyal Subjects* to oppose and suppress them; yet this was only for shew, or as the Saying is, a *Copy of their Countenance*, for their true Intention was to involve the *Inhabitants* of the other *Provinces* also in the same crime, so as  
to



to bring them under the *Lash* of the *Law*; And therefore they took no care to suppress the *Northern Insurrection*, that the *Contagion* might spread, and infect the whole *Kingdom*. For this reason, when the *Catholicks* about *Dublin* offer'd their service to the *Lords Justices*, they were not only refus'd Arms and Ammunition, at least to any purpose, but soon after denyed even *Protection*, insomuch that the *Soldiers* were suffer'd to plunder, and knock many of them in the head, without any manner of *Provocation*; Neither were others better us'd in the rest of the *Kingdom*, who not only were never concern'd in any *Rebellion*, but also offer'd to give *Security* to live quietly and peaceably at home. Yet this was so far from being granted, that they were ill us'd every where by the *Protestants*, and treated more like *Rebels* than *Subjects*; nay, the

\* *Earl*

\* See Ca-  
stlehaven's  
Memoirs,  
second  
Edition.

\* *Earl of Castlehaven* suffer'd many months Imprisonment for offering to speak in their behalf, and it was believ'd that his head wou'd have paid for't, but that he happily made his Escape.

K. Charles  
I. Sense of  
the Trou-  
bles in  
Ireland.

The *King*, to whom for a great while the Affairs of *Ireland* were industriously misrepresented, found out at last the true *Original* of this Commotion, and that it sprung from the same *source* whence proceeded all the rest of his Troubles, which was, a form'd Design of the *Republican* Part of his *Subjects* to ruine himself and all his Friends, as appears by his serious Reflections in his *Solitudes*, \* where he sayes: *Certainly, tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous Rigour and unreasonable Severity, which some men carryed before them in England, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into horrid flames the sparks of discontent, which*  
wanted

\* *Iron*  
*Basilike*  
*Cap. 12.*

wanted not predispos'd fuell of Rebellion in Ireland; where Despair being added to their former Discontents, and the fears of utter Extirpation to their wonted Oppressions, it was easy to provoke them to an open Rebellion, . . . . both to exempt themselves from their present Restraints, and to prevent those after-rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threaten'd by the covetous zeal and uncharitable Fury of some men, who think it a great argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own. And again he Sayes. Some kind of Zeal counts all mercifull moderation lukewarmness; and had rather be cruel than counted cold; And is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his Skin than for any harm he hath done: The Confiscation of mens Estates being more beneficial than the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their errors. And at length concludes: I believe, it will at last appear, that

I. Part.

F they

they who first began to embroil my  
 other Kingdoms, are in a great part  
 guilty, if not of the first letting out,  
 yet of the not timely stopping,  
 those horrid effusions of blood in  
 Ireland.

But notwithstanding all the care  
 of that Party to misrepresent mat-  
 ters to his Majesty, he was in the  
 very beginning so far inform'd of  
 the Grievances of his Irish Subjects,  
 and of the Designs laid to ruine  
 them, that to render those Projects  
 ineffectual, he was Graciously  
 pleas'd to order the Lords Justices  
 to issue a Proclamation of Pardon to  
 all those that wou'd submit in 40  
 days after its publication. This  
 seem'd no less than a Thunderbolt,  
 which was like to blast all the  
 hopes of the Party, who till then  
 promis'd themselves vast Estates by  
 fishing in those troubled waters,  
 but now must be utterly disappoin-  
 ted, if the King's Orders shou'd  
 take effect. To prevent therefore  
 so

# BRIEFLY STATED. 35

so fatal a Blow, and at the same time to seem to comply with his *Majestie's Commands*, they issued a *Proclamation of Pardon*, yet so that no *Estated man* whatsoever, nor hardly the meanest peasant then in *Arms* could reap any benefit by it; For the *Pardon* was only for such as were no *Freeholders*, and shou'd repair to *Dublin* in ten dayes time; A thing they knew impossible to be done. And to the end that the *King* might have no further Information of the true *State of Affairs* in *Ireland*, Sir *John Read*, one of his *Majestie's sworn Servants*, who promis'd the said *Catholicks* to represent their *Grievances* to his *Royal Master*, was seiz'd on by the *Lords Justices* in *Dublin*, as he was ready to go for *England*, and barbarously tortur'd upon the \* *Rack*, to squeeze somethings out of him, whereby they might accuse the *Queen*, or the *King* himself, of that *Insurrection*.

\* See  
Castle-  
havens  
Memoirs.

By

The Con-  
federate  
Catholicks  
meet at  
Kilkenny.

By these strange and *unchristian* Proceedings the *Generality* of the *Kingdom* were brought at last under an apparent necessity, as the *Protestants* had all along desir'd and design'd, to look to their own *safety*, and to take *Arms* for their *common Defence*; who therefore assembling themselves at *Kilkenny* entred into an *Association* by the name of the *Confederate Catholicks* of *Ireland*, and rais'd some Forces in order to preserve their Lives from the persecution of their *Enemies*. Yet to vindicate their *Actions* to the world, and throw off the imputation of their designing to rebell against the *King*, they publish'd a *Manifesto*, wherein they sett forth their *Reasons* for taking Arms, declaring themselves still *faithful Subjects* to his *Majestie*, and Abhorrrers of the *Parliament's* Proceedings against him; And for a further Demonstration of their *Loyalty* and *Sincerity*, they took themselves, and impos'd upon all those



those of their Party, such a new Oath of *Allegiance* as did fully express their duty and fidelity to the King, and yet might be taken by *Catholicks* without renouncing any Principle of their *Religion*. And afterwards they appointed Commissioners to be sent to his *Majestie* into England, to represent their *Grievances*, and the *Tyrannical* Proceedings of the *Lords Justices*.

Before I proceed any further, tis necessary to examine what I heartily wish for the Credit of both Parties cou'd be buried in eternal Oblivion, that is, the many Outrages and barbarous Murders committed on both sides during that unhappy War. Neither Party can be excus'd, but those to be sure are most to blame, who began the *Tragedy*. Tis certain, each of them has labour'd to throw the first *Scene* upon the other; but upon the whole matter I think it is very plaine, that the *Protestants* were the

Part. Part. G first

Of the  
Murders in  
Ireland,

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first *Actors* upon the *Stage*, who immediately upon the Discovery of the *Plot* in *Dublin*, finding there were not many concern'd in the *Northern Insurrection* but men of desperate fortunes, and apprehending that few of the *Estated Natives* wou'd willingly engage in a *Rebellion*, took what measures they cou'd to provoke and frighten them into it: In order to which Design they sent out several Parties as well in remote places as round about \* *Dublin*, who murder'd a great many without distinction of age or sexe; particularly at *Santry*, *Clontarf* and *Bullog*, all within three or four miles of the *City*, where they massacred in the beginning of November 1641 near upon fourscore of the poor Country people; As the *Garrison* of *Carrickfergus* some days before butcher'd in one night all the *Inhabitants* of the *Country* call'd *Island Magee*, to the number of two or three thousand Men, Women, and Chil-

\* See Narrative of the troubles in Ireland, page 5. And Collection of murders committed upon the Irish, printed at London, anno 1662, page 18, 9, 15, 19, 23, &c.

BRIEFLY STATED. 39

Children. The like feates were done by the *Lord Broghill*, late *Earl of Orrery*, in the *Countries of Cork, Waterford*, and parts adjacent; By *Sir Charles Coote* in his Expedition into the *County of Wicklow*; By *Capt. Peasely, Brown*, and others in the *County of Tipperary*; And in fine, because it was a general Contrivance, by most of the *Protestant Garrisons* of any strength all over the *Kingdom*.

The *Irish*, who were in *Arms* in *Ulster*, contain'd themselves hitherto from doing any more mischief than plundering and stripping the *Protestants*, without touching the lives of any that did not appear in *Arms* against them; but hearing of the inhuman Proceedings aforesaid, they were so far exasperated, that altho' the *Leading Men* amongst them were not so void of *Humanity* as to revenge their *Countrymen's* Death upon those that had no hand in their Blood, yet the com-

mon *Soldiers* took a Resolution to use the *Protestants* in the *North* no better than the *Catholicks* were treated there, or in the other *Provinces*: And upon this single account many hundreds of Lives were on both sides lost in cold blood, each Party pretending to revenge the Murders Committed by the other upon their Friends.

Tis not yet known how many were thus sacrific'd on either side, but too many they were, be they never so few. Sir *John Temple's Romantick Legend*, where he draws up his *Muster-Rolls* of two or three hundred thousands of *English Protestants* massacred in one *Province*, is not only incredible, but most ridiculous and absolutely impossible; For (to omitt that some hundreds, said to have been there slain were living for many years after, and some of them liv'd to see the *Restoration*,) all knowing men must own, there was not half that number

BRIEFLY STATED. 41

ber of *Protestants* in the whole *Kingdom* in Summer 1641, as the afore-mentioned \* *Author* of the *Catholick Apology*, an *English* Person of *Honour*, who generously took some pains to examine this *Aspersion*, has prov'd not only from good Reason, but even from *Protestant Writers*; And concludes upon the whole matter, that all these hundreds of thousands said to have been murder'd in the *North* cou'd not exceed three thousand. And Sir *William Petty*, an *Englishman* and a *Protestant* too, who was *Clerck* of the *Usurper's Council* and *Surveyor General* of the *Lands of Ireland*, an Ingenious Inquisitive Person, affirms, that upon the exactest Scrutiny there were not above 36 thousand on both sides kill'd in the *Field*, or murder'd in cold Blood, during the whole *War*.

\* In his  
first Reply  
page 53.  
&c.

However it be, for it stands not with my intended brevity to enter

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More Ca-  
tholicks  
murder'd  
than  
Prote-  
stants.

now upon the particulars, tis ma-  
nifest there were six times more of  
the *Catholicks* massacred than of  
the *Protestants* upon that *Revolu-  
tion*: First, because most of the  
*Protestants* liv'd at that time in *Ci-  
ties*, *Wall'd Towns*, and *Castles*,  
which secur'd them from the fury  
of the *Rabble*; and the rest, who  
liv'd scatter'd up and down the  
*Country*, retir'd in all the hast they  
cou'd into those *Towns* and places  
of strength as soon as the *Troubles*  
began, and there they continued  
during the war, or withdrew into  
*England* or *Scotland*; so that few  
or none of them perish'd, but such  
as fell in the very beginning of the  
*Confusion*: whereas the *Catholicks*,  
being all along expos'd in the open  
*Country* to the fury of their mer-  
ciless *Enemies*, were for the space  
of twelve years together butcher'd  
upon all occasions. Secondly, be-  
cause what was done to the *Prote-  
stants* was committed by the un-  
ruly



ruly *Rabble*, not only without, but contrary to the *Orders* of their *Leaders*, by whom therefore several of the *Murderers* were hang'd for their barbarous doings: But the *Protestants* in most places acted their part by *Publick Orders*, being commanded *not to spare the least Child, tho' but a Span long*, as Sir Charles Coote often express'd himself to Parties he sent abroad to butcher the *Irish*. Thirdly, because of the very small Number of *Catholicks* executed by the *Cromwellians* upon the Account of those *Murders*, who had they been threetimes so many, and all guilty, cou'd not rationally be suppos'd able to kill any considerable number of *Protestants*, unless we fancy them somany *Gyants*, or truely to answer the *Character* given in a Compliment by the *Women of Israel*, That *Saul had slain his thousands*, and *David his ten thousands*. \* For, as soon as *Ireland* was reduc'd by the *Usurpers*, they erect-

1. Sam.

18. 7.

erected their pretended *High Court of Justice*, wherein all possible Enquiries were made all over the *Kingdom*, to find out what *Murders* had been committed upon the *Protestants* during the War, and swarms of *Witnesses* were hir'd to swear home; but notwithstanding all the noise and clamor of three hundred thousand said to have been massacred in one *Province* only, there were but 140 *Irish*, both men and women (for in this case neither age nor sexe was regarded) and but few of them of any note, condemn'd, tho their very *Enemies* were their *Judges*, on pretence of all the *Murders* committed by the *Catholicks* from first to last; And most of those protested at their death, the only time men ought to be most believ'd, that they were innocent of the crimes laid to their charge. But if such Enquiries had been made on the other side, and every *Murderer* of them

them brought to answer for himself, I dare say the Tenth man of the *Parliamentarians* of *Ireland* cou'd not escape before any just *Tribunal* upon earth. And so sensible was that very Party of the Truth of this assertion, upon the late *King's Restoration*, that when some *Irish Catholics* then in *London*, who took upon them to act there for their *Countrymen*, propos'd and press'd that all the *Murderers* on both sides shou'd be excepted out of the *Act* of *Inlemnity*, these *Protestants* guilty Consciences so plainly appear'd, that they cou'd not endure to hear of the Proposal, nor think themselves safe, until they were assur'd there was none excepted out of the *Act*, but some few *Regicides* and the *Catholicks* of *Ireland*.

This in brief is the *naked Truth* of that *Tragical History*, which has rais'd so great a Clamor in the World; The *Catholicks* suffer'd in much greater numbers, but dying as it

were dumb, like so many *sheep* brought to the *slaughter*, their blood made no great noise, at least in *England*; but the *Protestants* fell, as I may say, with so many *speaking Trumpets* in their mouths, that every *Individual* seem'd a *hundred*; And it was next to a *Miracle* they were not made some *Millions*, since several *Millions* of inveterate *Republicans* made it their daily business to repeat like so many *Ecchoes* the Cruelties committed upon their Party, tho not somuch out of any Love or pitty to those that suffer'd, as for wicked ends of their own, that is, to defame and run down the *King* at any rate, to whom with more than *diabolical malice* they attributed all those *Murders*, and by that means and such other *Godly Contrivances* of theirs, murder'd him in the *hearts* of his *People* long before they brought him to the *Scaffold*.

Neither were the *Miscreants*  
content

content with blasting his *Majesty's* Reputation during his *Life* only, but pursued the same Malice several years after his *death*; For in 1653, when they took *Sir Phelim O'Neill* Prisoner, and got him condemn'd in *Dublin* by their *High Court of Justice*, altho' they look'd upon him at the same time as the chief Promoter of all the *Murders* they fancied to have been committed upon the *Protestants* in *Ulster*, which yet was so far from being true, that none could be more severe than himself upon those *Murderers*, of whom he caus'd several to be hang'd for their inhuman dealings; Nevertheless, these implacable *Enemies of Kings and Kingly Government*, believing the *Gentleman* undenyably guilty of all this Bloodshed, offer'd him his *Life*, in case he wou'd but own that the *Northern Insurrection* was acted by *Commission* from *K. Charles the first*. But he, like a man of Honour, choosing

choosing rather to die with a *safe Conscience*, than basely to redeem his *Life* by belying his *innocent Prince* in the grave, not only slighted the *Proposal*, but publickly clear'd his *Majestie* even at the place of *Execution*; As my \* *Lord Maguire* did some nine years before in *London*, notwithstanding all the Offers and Endeavors of the Rump-Parliament.

\* See his  
Speech  
printed  
anno 1644.

But to return from this *melancholy Digression*, altho' the *Confederate Catholics* had thus united themselves for their own Preservation, yet they never intended to hold out against the *King*, or to disown their *Allegiance* to him; And therefore finding by this time that the *War* was broke out between the *King* and *Parliament* in *England*, and that his *Majestie* had at last thought fitt to lay aside their inveterate Enemies, the *Parliamentarian Lords Justices*, and to appoint the *E. of Ormond* *Lord Lieutenant* of the

The Cession  
concluded.



the *Kingdom*, they immediately concluded a *Cession* with him on the 15. September 1643, and furnish'd him with thirty thousand eight hundred pounds ster. to enable him to transport into *England* the *Protestant Army* then under his Command, since to prove himself a more zealous *Protestant* than a wise or able *Minister of State*, he refus'd the Offer of their *Catholick Army*, and wou'd hardly allow them to send 2000 of their men into *Scotland* to reinforce the *King's Party* there under the *Marquess* of *Montrose*. Soon after, they dispatch'd the *Lord Muskry*, *Sir Nicholas Plunkett*, and others into *England* to sollicite his Majesty for Redress of several *Grievances* relating as well to the *Catholick Religion*, as to their *temporal Freedoms*. These *Agents* after a favorable *Hearing* were referr'd back to the *Lord Lieutenant*, to whom his Majesty at the same time sent

I. Part. I riously

# 30 IRELAND'S CAUSE

riously recommended to conclude a Peace with the *Confederate Catholics*, but press'd him afterwards more earnestly, by several *Letters* and *Messages*, to make a speedy end of the *War of Ireland*, declaring that if his *Irish Subjects* wou'd be content with the free Exercise of their *Religion*, and the *Repeal* of *Poynings Act*, over and above a *General Amnestie* for the past, he wou'd think it no hard Bargain; Adding withall, that he woud have a *Peace* concluded with them, *whatever it cost*.

The Treas-  
ry call'd,  
The Peace  
of 46.

Ormond nevertheless prov'd *deaf* to all this, and cou'd never be induc'd, notwithstanding his *Master's* repeated Commands, to conclude a *Peace* with the *Irish*, who earnestly desir'd it, untill the *King's Affairs* were in a manner past retrieve in *England*, after the *Battle of Naseby* and the several other Losses the *Royal Party* sustain'd that *Campagne*. Then, and not till then,

STRICTLY STATED. 57

then, cou'd he be brought to hear  
of a *Treaty*; and even in those very  
Circumstances so unwilling he was  
to put an end to the *War*, that al-  
tho' the *Articles* were agreed on in  
*March* following between him and  
certain Commissioners appointed  
for that purpose, yet he puts off  
the Exchanging of them for that  
time, and so deferr'd it from day  
to day, untill the *King* finding his  
*Army* in no condition to keep the  
*Field* that Summer, unfortunately  
put himself in the beginning of  
*May* 1646, into the hands of the  
*Scotch Rebels* then before *Newark*,  
by whom he was soon after pre-  
vail'd upon to Recall, by his *Letter*  
to *Ormond* of the 11. of *June* from  
*Newcastle*, all the *Powers* he had  
formerly given him for concluding  
a *Peace* with the *Irish*. The *Sup-  
reme Council* of the *Confederate  
Catholicks* wondering at these De-  
layes, sent at last to *Ormond* about  
*Midsummer* to know his final Re-

solution concerning the *Peace*, who  
 answer'd, that he cou'd proceed  
 no further in that *Treaty*, because  
 he had receiv'd his *Majestie's Com-*  
*mands* to the contrary. Never-  
 theless, having upon second  
 thoughts hit on a new knack of  
*Policy* for imposing upon the *Con-*  
*federates*, he sends to them in  
 some weeks after, and renews the  
*Treaty*; for he consider'd, that he  
 might on the one hand proceed to  
 the *Exchange* of the *Articles*, and  
 get the *Peace* proclaim'd, because  
 he was thereby sure to make him-  
 self *Master* of all the *strong Holds*  
 then possess'd by the *Irish*; And  
 on the other hand, that he shou'd  
 not be concluded by it, if he found  
 his *Interest* the other way, because  
 his *Power* was recall'd before the  
*Articles* were exchange'd; And  
 upon this account he proceeds to  
 conclude the *Peace*, and gets it  
 proclaim'd in *August* following.

But the *Pope's Nuncio* and the

Pre-

*Prelates* then Conven'd at *Waterford* seeing that his *Majestie* had disown'd the *Earl of Glamorgan's* Commission and Proceedings with them, on which they solely relyed as to the *Affairs* of the *Church*, and finding no sufficient Provision made in that *Peace* for *Liberty* of *Conscience*, or the *Catholick Religion*, they openly protested against it; And withall they issued forth a *Comminatory Excommunication* against the *Acceptors* of it, as being guilty of wilfull *Perjury*, because in the beginning of their *Association* an \* *Oath* was fram'd for their better *Union*, and taken by all the *Confederates*, That none of them wou'd accept of any *Terms* of *Peace* without the Consent of the rest in a *Generall Assembly* of the whole *Nation*, which ordinarily met once a year to settle all *Publick Affairs*. This wrought somuch upon the *Officers* of the *Army*, and the *Gentry* of the whole

\* See  
Castle-  
havens  
Memoirs.

*Kingdom*, that the *Peace* was generally rejected; whereupon *Ormond*, who in hopes of being receiv'd pursuant to that *Peace*, was come as far as *Kilkenny*, thought convenient to retire hastily to *Dublin*. Soon after, the *Generall Assembly* of the *Confederates* met, where the *Articles* of the *Peace* were fully examin'd, and after several *Debates* rejected for the *Reasons* aforesaid; And the *Commissioners*, who *Concluded* the same, as having exceeded their *Commission*, were censur'd and imprison'd.

During these *Transactions* the *Scottish Army* were bargaining with the *English Parliament* about the disposal of the *King's Person*, to whom they sold him at last for two hundred thousand pounds ster. on the *Eighth* of *Febr.* 1646; And in few months after, *Ormond* delivers up *Dublin*, the *King's Sword*, and all the *Ensigns of Royalty* there



BRIEFLY STATED.

there to *Commissioners* from the *Parliament*; for which good Service he was presented by them in *London* with a *Chaine* and *Medal* of gold; together with 113 000 lib. sterl. in money, as the *Earl of Anglesey*, one of the *Commissioners*, has since publickly averr'd.

In the mean time the *Confederate Catholicks* went on vigorously with the War against the *Parliamentarians*, and possess'd themselves intirely of all *Ireland*, except *Dublin* and *Londonderry*; And being inform'd that the *King* was made a *Close Prisoner* in *England*, and his Son the *Prince of Wales* forc'd to fly into *France*, whither his *Queen* had sometime before withdrawn herself, they sent the *Marquess of Antrim* and *Lord Muskry* Agents thither, to signify to the *Queen* and *Prince* their willingness to conclude a *Peace*, in order to contribute what in them lay to free the *King* from his *Misfortunes*; whereupon Ormond,

The Peace  
of 48.

*Ormond*, who happen'd to be there at that time, returns into *Ireland* about *Michaelmas* 1648, and concludes the *Peace* with the *General Assembly* of the *Confederates* on the 17. day of *January* following, commonly call'd, *The Peace of 48.*

This *Peace* was immediately receiv'd by all the *Confederate Catholics*, except a small *Party* headed by *Owen Roe Oneill*, who being only a *Soldier* of fortune, but confessedly the best *Commander* they had in the *Kingdom*, held out because they unadvisedly refus'd to give him any considerable *Post* in the *Army*, untill *Ormond*, after he was shamefully surpriz'd and routed before *Dublin*, \* and *Cromwell* landed there in few weeks after with a strong *Re-inforcement*, was glad to give him his own *Terms*, when it was too late; Whereupon he and his *Party* submitted to the *Peace* pursuant to a speciall *Treaty* concluded on the 12. of the ensuing

\* 2. August  
1649.

fuing *October*, and then all the *Confederates* join'd heart and hand against the *Parliamentarians*: But *Owen Roe* unfortunately dying soon after, there was none left able to make head against *Cromwell*, who therefore carryed all before him where ever he went, with litle or no Opposition, but what *Hugh duff Oneill* gave him at *Clonmell*, where he lost near as many men as he did in gaining the rest of the *Kingdom*, and wou'd have lost a great many more, and gone at last without it, had not the People of *Waterford* unhappily fail'd to send the Garrison *Ammunition*, as they promis'd.

Nevertheless, the *Confederates* struggled hard to the last, and tho' they were offer'd most of their *Estates* and other advantagious Terms, as the case then stood, by the *Rump-Parliament*, if they wou'd submit to them, and renounce the *King's Interest*; yet they unanimously rejected all in their *General*

58 IRELAND'S CASE

*Assembly* at *Loghbreogh*, in winter 1650, and never laid down Arms till they were reduc'd to an impossibility of continuing the *War* any longer, in the year 1653.

Then most of the *Army*, choos-  
ing rather to quit their *Native Country*, than live under the *Usurper's* Power: and withall being re-  
solv'd to spend the Remainder of  
their dayes in their *Prince's* Ser-  
vice, made *Conditions* to go into  
*Foreign Countreyes*, especially *France*  
and *Spaine*; And the rest, who  
by reason of their Age, Charge  
or Sickness, were necessitated to  
stay behind, suffer'd extremely;  
For, the common Soldiers and  
great numbers of the poor Coun-  
try people were sold by whole sale  
for *Slaves* into the *West-Indies*, to  
the number of 15 or 20 thousand  
Souls; And the *Officers*, with the  
rest of the *Catholick Gentry* of the  
*Kingdom*, were all commanded over  
the *River Shannon* into the *Province*  
of *Connaght* and *County of Clare*,  
thence

thence not to return upon paine of Death without *speciall Licence*, where they were daily expos'd to all manner of Insolence, Oppression and Cruelty from the *Petty Tyrants* domineering over them.

Cromwell in the mean time, whether in hopes to gaine upon the *Irish*, or at least to make some shew of his inclination to Iustice, order'd a *Court of Claimes* to be erected at *Athlone*, where all *Catholicks* that cou'd prove themselves innocent of the *Rebellion*, or came within such *Qualifications* as he prescrib'd, were allow'd for their subsistence to enjoy certain Proportions of Land in the said *Province of Connaght* and *County of Clare*, that is, some a fourth, others a third part, according to their several *Qualifications*, & some few perhaps the one half of the number of Acres they were else where posselt of in 1641: yet the said *petty Tyrants* were not well pleas'd at this small favor, but to the contrary believ-

The  
Athlone  
Court of  
Claimes,

80 IRELAND'S CASE, &c.  
believing that their own ill Acqui-  
sitions cou'd not be secure or la-  
sting, while the former Proprietors  
were in being, they often consul-  
ted among themselves, and were  
within ames ace of resolving to  
massacre them all at one pull, Men,  
Women, and Children; which  
they had certainly done, but that  
the over-ruling hand of *Providence*  
diverted the Blow.

In this most dismall Condition  
the *Irish* continued for several years,  
rack'd with daily Apprehensions of  
the danger that hung over their  
heads, and having no comfort un-  
der heaven but the hopes to see  
the happy day of their *Prince's Re-*  
*storation*, which they doubted not  
but wou'd redeem them from their  
present *Captivity*. and besides re-  
store them to the *Inheritance* of  
their *Fathers*. But how far they  
were deceiv'd, and disappointed  
of these their reasonable Hopes,  
shall be the subject of another Dis-  
course.

FINIS.



# IRELAND'S CASE

BRIEFLY STATED;

O R,

A Summary Account  
of the most Remarkable  
Transactions in  
that Kingdom since  
the Reformation.

THE SECOND PART.

Prov. 29. 14.

*The King that faithfully judgeth the  
Poor, his Throne shall be establish'd  
for ever.*

Isa. 10. 1.

*Wo unto them that decree unrighteous  
Decrees, and that write Grievous-  
ness, which they have prescrib'd:  
To turn aside the Needy from Judge-  
ment, and to take away the Right  
from the Poor of my People, that  
Widows may be their Prey, and  
that they may Rob the Fatherless.*

Printed in the year 1695.



IRELAND'S CASE

RECEIVED



The first of these is the fact that the  
 Government has been unable to secure  
 the necessary funds to carry out its  
 policy of non-interference. This is  
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# IRELAND'S CASE

## BRIEFLY STATED.

**I**N the foregoing Discourse we have taken a short View of the several *Revolutions* that have happen'd in *Ireland* from the first year of *Q. Elizabeth's* to the last of *Cromwell's* Usurpation ; during which time we have partly seen how *Religion* was made a *Stalking-horse* to *Violence* and *Rapine* , and *Gospel-Liberty* turn'd into all manner of *Licentiousness* , whereby the men in Power might oppress and plunder their Neighbors, without any more Concern or Remorse, than if they had the same *Warrant* from *Heaven* , which the *Israëlites* receiv'd by the hands of *Moses* , to

run away with the spoil of the Egyptians.

Upon the whole matter, I think it is very evident that Tyrone's taking Arms was so far from being a Rebellion either by the Laws of God, or the fundamental Laws of the Land, that it was rather a necessary Self-defence against the unwarrantable Attempts of Queen Elizabeth, who had not only usurp'd the Crown upon Q. Mary of Scotland, but also endeavor'd after an arbitrary manner to encroach upon the People's Civil and Religious Rights contrary to all Laws both human and divine. And as for that Earl's having in K. James's time fled out of the Kingdom upon S. Lawrence's treacherous Information, it may be reckon'd a Sin against Prudence, which may oblige an Honest Man to stand to the Defence of his own Innocence, Honor, and Reputation, even with the hazard of his Life; but it cannot

Tyrone's  
War no  
Rebel-  
lion.

not be call'd a *Treasonable Crime*, or an *Act* that prov'd him guilty of having had any ill *Designs* against the *Crown*. Nevertheless, since there was one *positive*, tho' in reality a *perjur'd*, *Witness* to swear to the *Accusation*, and that both he and the *Earl of Tyrconnell* fled for the same, it must be own'd that there was *Ground* enough for attainting them by *Act of Parliament*, which cou'd not *Legally* have been done, had they staid and stood their *Tryall*.

But as to the *Insurrection* of 1641, there is no doubt but the *Letter* of the *Law* makes it *Rebellion*; For, *Subjects* under a *Lawfull Monarch*, whether jointly or severally consider'd, are still by our *Laws* but so many private *Persons*, and therefore can never take upon themselves any *publick Authority* without a *special Commission* from the *Prince*. Yet if we Appeal to the *Supreme Court of Equity*, and

L iij      there

The  
Troubles  
of 41. not  
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in the  
*Irish*, as  
in their  
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 Neigh-  
 bors.

\* Cicero  
Orat. pro  
Milone.

there consider the *Nature* of Man, and all the provoking Circumstances of that business, together with the Powerfull *Instinct* of *Self-preservation*, call'd by the Roman \* Orator, *Non scripta, sed nata Lex, ad quam non docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus*, a great deal may be said at least to excuse their *Proceedings*; which in comparison of the barefac'd causeless *Rebellion*, carryed on at the same time by the *English* and *Scotch Republicans*, not only against the *King's authority* and *Commission*, but even against his *Sacred Person* and the very Being of the *Monarchy*, cannot seem but a very slender *Peccadillio*, which bears no more Proportion to the other, than does the smallest *Molehill* to the *Pic* of *Teneriffe*: For there never was under a *Legal Government* any *Insurrection* more necessary for *Self-preservation*, and consequently more excusable, if we except

except the aforesaid *Outrages* committed by the unruly *Rabble*, than this of 41; And on the other side, no *Subjects* ever labor'd more to retrieve what the Rigour of the *Law* might construe amiss in their *Actions*, than the *Irish Catholicks* have done. They held out but about 22 months, and in all that time they never intended to stand out against the *King*, but to secure themselves from the *Parliamentarian Lords Justices*, who did so plainly abuse his *Majestie's Authority* to the prejudice of himself and of his *Loyal Subjects* in that *Kingdom*, and in favor of the *Rebels* in *England*, that the *Irish* believ'd they cou'd not do the *King* better Service than to oppose them, and thereby prevent their doing any more Mischief. For prooff hereof, as soon as these *Justices* were remov'd, the *Confederate Irish* made a *Cessation* with the *Earl of Ormond*, in order to the Conclusion

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sion of a lasting *Peace*, which was equally wish'd for both by *Prince* and *People*; but these good Wishes through the sinister *Practices* of some intermediat *Agents*, or some other *Fatalities*, became abortive for that time.

Nevertheless, a *Solemn Peace* was at last concluded on the 17. day of *January* 164 $\frac{2}{2}$ , which the *Irish* not only receiv'd unanimously, but seal'd with their *Blood*, having pursuant to it maintain'd a *War* against the *Parliamentarian Regicides* for three years successively; And when all their *strong Holds* were lost, continued a *Mountain-war* for a year after, in hopes of receiving some *Relief* from the *King*. But that Expectation failing, they were oblig'd at length to lay down Arms; yet because they cou'd not endure to live under the *Tyranny* of those *Miscreants*, who had embrued their hands in their *Prince's Blood*, most  
of

of them made *Conditions* to go beyond Sea, and accordingly some got into *France*, others into *Spain*, in all to the number of 25 or 30 thousand effective Men; And forasmuch as their maine design was to render their *Sovereign* that Service abroad, which they were no longer able to do at home, they no sooner landed in *foreign Countries*, than they flock'd from all Parts as fast as they cou'd to attend their *Prince's* Commands. For this reason they quitted the *Spanish Service* while the *King* remain'd in *France*, but quitted the *French*, as soon as he thought fitt to retire into the *Spanish Netherlands*. And very certain it is that this flocking of the *Irish* about his *Majestie*, at that time, when he was in a manner abandon'd by all the rest of his *Subjects*, render'd him much the more considerable among *Strangers*, and gain'd him most of

his *Bread* during the dismal time of his Banishment.

The  
Loyalty  
of the  
*Irish*  
attested  
by the  
late  
King.

This is a *Truth* not to be denied by any man in his Wits, for there are still many *Living Witnesses* of it, and the *King* himself soon after his *Restoration* partly own'd it in his *Speech* to the *Parliament*, on the 27. of July 1660, where he expresses Himself in these words: *I hope, I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my Mercy; they have shew'd much Affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my Honour, and of what I have promis'd to them.* And again on the 30. of November following in his *Declaration* for the *Settlement* of *Ireland*, he says: *In the last place We did, and must always remember the great Affection a considerable part of that Nation express'd to Us, during the time of Our being beyond the Seas, when* with



BRIEFLY STATED. 71

With all Cheerfullness and Obedience they receiv'd and submitted to Our Orders, and betook themselves to that Service, which We directed as most convenient and behoofesfull, at that time to Us, tho' attended with Inconvenience enough to themselves: which demeanor of theirs cannot but be thought very worthy of Our Protection, Justice, and Favor.

Let us now consider on the other side, what great Protection, Justice, or Favour have the Irish receiv'd for all their *unparallel'd Loyalty* thus own'd and attested by the King himself in the face of the world. The maine Question was then, whether the *Cromwellians*, who like so many *Bloodhounds* hunted *Charles* the first to the *Scaffold*, and chas'd *Charles* the Second out of his *Dominions*, shou'd still enjoy the *Estates* they got in *Ireland* for those their *signal Services* against the Crown; or be oblig'd to sur-  
ren-

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render them to the former *Proprietors*, who had signaliz'd their *Loyalty* in so extraordinary a manner, and had lost the said *Estates* for their faithfull *Adherence* to the *Royal Interest*, and besides were most justly entitl'd to them by the *Publick Faith* of a *Solemn Peace* at home, and the *King's repeated Promises* abroad.

Of the  
Injustice  
done to  
the Irish.

Tis true, his *Majestie* did in the beginning expresse himself very resolute for doing *Justice* to the later; but the Craft and Corruption of some *Grandeers* about him wrought upon him by degrees to give way, and at last to abandon those to their *Enemies*, who never abandon'd him in his greatest *Misfortunes*. \* *Be astonish'd, O ye Heavens, at this!* For, was there ever any *Act* parallel to it read, or heard of, since the *Creation*? An *Act* so little becoming a Great or Generous *Prince*, so contrary to common Justice and the most *Sacred*

\* Jer. 2.  
22.

ered Tyes of *human Societies*, and withal so *Impolitick*, as entailing perpetual *Factions* and *Rebellions* upon his *Successors*, by the hopes it gives to desperate *Needy People* to make their *Fortunes* the same *Way*, and by the mortal *Damp* it strikes upon *Loyalty*; So prodigious an Example of *Ingratitude* being a sufficient *Warning-piece* to others not to venture their all upon the like account, that it shocks a man's Understanding to think what cou'd be the drift, or meaning of it.

Histories indeed furnish us with *Examples* enough, how *Princes* have often found it necessary for the *Ease* and *Quiet* of their *Dominions*, to *Pardon* their *Submitting Rebels*, and thereby *Restore* them to their former *Possessions*, and perhaps with some marks of *Favor*; nay, sometimes to discharge them of their *Subjection*, and declare them a *Free People*, when they would not otherwise be quiet.

as the *King of Spain* has lately done to the *Dutch*. And there is no doubt but a *Sovereign* may lawfully do all this, because in such Cases he himself is the only *Looser*, and may part with his own *Right* when he pleases, or at least when the *Necessities* of his *Affairs* require it. But that a *King* shou'd offer not only to Pardon and Reward his *Rebels*, upon their returning to their *Duty*, but to Reward them with the *Birthright* of such as adher'd to him to the last with the hazard of their *Lives* and *Limbs* against those very *Rebels*, is so unaccountable a *Procedure*, that we can find no Example or Precedent for it in any *History*, either *sacred* or *prophane*.

But the *King* (sayes one) cou'd in *Policy* do no less, considering what great Numbers of his *Subjects* were then disaffected to his *Government*, and the great *Arrears* due to the *Army* in *Ireland*, which he

BRIEFLY STATED. 75

he promis'd to pay. Very fine Policy indeed! Must Policy then, which is the Quintessence of refin'd Reason, and of all Moral Perfections the Noblest and most Heroick, be thus prophan'd and debas'd, to daub or gild over the failures of vicious or mislead Prince's Policy, which is the true Art of Government, was even among the Heathens reckon'd so great and so excellent a Quality, that the Prince of Latine Poets thought he cou'd not bestow a higher Compliment upon his Country, than to make it peculiar to the Romans, in his Sixth Book of *Aeneids*, where he speaks to this purpose:

While others may in other Arts  
excell,

Romans, Mind you to Rule Na-  
tions well:

To give the Laws of Peace belongs  
to you,

To spare the Humble, and the  
Proud subdue.

N   ij   Bug

But among *Christians*, who boast indeed of greater Perfections, and yet happen very often to practise less, this *Noble* and *Sublime* virtue is made a *Cloak* for all the *Corruptions* of deprav'd *Nature*, and is dwindl'd away into litle Tricks and cunning Fetches to serve a present Turn, without the least Regard to *Honour*, *Honesty*, or *Conscience*; Insomuch that *Henry* the Fourth of *France* had reason to say (only that out of *Modesty* he reckon'd himself, but in truth had too great a Soul to be, of the number) *Nous autres Rois sommes des grands Coquins*.

Let us nevertheless consider this *Evasion* a litle further: If it was so very *Politick* to continue the *Parliamentarians* of *Ireland* in their new *Acquisitions*, for fear of exasperating the *disaffected* Party, why were not their *Brethren* in *England* and *Scotland* continued in their's also, for the same Reason?

Or



Or was that Party in *Ireland* so very formidable beyond those of the other *Kingdoms*, that their *Friendship* must be purchas'd at such an extravagant Rate ? If the King oblig'd himself by his *Declaration* from *Breda*, to satisfy all the *Arrears* due to the *Officers* and *Soldiers* under the Command of *Generall Monck*, why might not this be done in *Ireland* by *publick Taxes*, as well as in the other *Kingdoms*, without stripping such a vast number of poor *Widows* and *Orphans*, whose *Cry* reaches daily to *Heaven*, of their *Livelihood*, and so many thousands of *Loyal Gentlemen* of their ancient *Birthright*, contrary to *Publick Faith*, and the undoubted *Interest* of the *Crown* ?

No, this plaine and palpable Injustice cannot be call'd the effect of any *Policy* in the *King*, for nothing cou'd be more *Impolitick*, or more contrary to his *Honour* and *Interest*; but it was a form'd *Design*

of some of his *Ministers*, and other *Leading men*, who then pretended to be *zealous Converts to Loyalty*, and yet like *Esop's Cat* cou'd not forget the *old Trade of Mousing*. For, the true Reason why the *Irish* were so unequally dealt with, was, that they were all *Catholicks*, never tainted with any *Republican Principles*, and not only had much diverted the *Parliamentarian Forces*, while they were running down the *King*, but had given them strong Apprehensions of quite turning the *Scales*. It was therefore determin'd by these *Matchiavels*, as a point of the last Consequence for securing their *Ends*, that such *People* shou'd now be suppress'd (for which reason the poor *Cavaliers* also were sent a grazing with *Nebuchadnezzar*, without either *Pay* or *valuable Gratuity*) least they might be in a Condition for the time to come, to stand up against their *Party* for the *Rights of the Crown*.

in

in case of any *future Revolution*. And the *Plot* being thus laid, the better to compass it without noise, a parcell of *Needy half-Starv'd Courtiers*, that follow'd the *King* abroad, and had his *Ear* at will, several of them being his *Chief Privy Councillors* and *Privadoes*, were gain'd by great *Promises* either of large *Scopes of Irish Land*, or round *Summs of English Money*, to joine in the *Design*, who therefore buzzing night and day in his *Majestie's ear*, wrought upon him at last to grant their desires, to the ruine of the *Irish Catholicks*, whose *Religion*, *Lands*, and *Loyalty* were Crimes too great to be endur'd by *Atheistical, Covetous Rebels*.

The *King* then is *blameless*, you will say, since he follow'd the Advice of his *Council* and *Chief Courtiers*. Very far from it; For, as our *Saviour* sayes, *if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch*\*; That is, not only the guide, but

\* *Matth.*  
15. 14.

but the *guided* likewise must suffer; And consequently, not only the *ill adviser*, but the *advised* also is answerable for the Wrongs committed. Had *God* indeed appointed such *Councillors* for him, to advise with, a great deal might be said in his behalf; Altho' when old *Adam* offer'd a *Plea* much to that Purpose, \* alleaging that the *wife* *God* had given him made him eat of the *forbidden Fruit*, tis believ'd that this *Plea* did rather aggravate, than abate any thing of his Guile. But when a *Prince* has it in his own Power, and consequently is in *Justice* to *himself* and to his *People* oblig'd to choose, to the best of his Skill and Knowledge, *Honest* and *Conscientious Counsellors* to advise with, if he does the Contrary, his following their Dictates is so far from excusing him, that he is accountable in the Sight of *God* both for their unjust Advice, and his own bad Choice;  
for

\* Gen. 3.  
12.

BRIEFLY STATED. 81

for by this he exposes himself to evident danger of being misled, and *he that loves danger, saith the Son of Syrach, shall perish therein:* *Ecclesi.*  
3. 27. And as for the other part, I think it is no great matter for one, whether he marches towards Hell of his own meer Motion, or is led thither by Others, if he arrives there at long run.

A Prince therefore, who seriously minds his *Business*, and has God before his Eyes, must not as to the weighty *Affairs* of his *Government*, relye upon the bare *Opinions* of fraile Men, tho' never so Able or Learned, because they are still subject to be byass'd the wrong Way; but ought rather to weigh and carefully examine the *Grounds* and *Reasons* of such *Opinions*, and not suffer his own *Judgement* to be Overborn, at least in matters of Moment, more by Others *Importunities*, than their *Arguments*; as K. Charles

I. I. Part. O the



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\* I re-  
solv'd to  
Re-form  
what I  
shou'd by  
free and  
full Ad-  
vice in  
Parlia-  
ment be  
con-  
vinc'd  
to be  
amiss;  
And to  
grant  
what  
ever my  
Reason  
and Con-  
science  
told Me  
was fit to  
be de-  
sir'd. I  
wish I  
had kept  
Myself

Within those Bounds, and not suffer'd My own Judge-  
ment to have been overborn in some Things, more by  
Others Importunities, than their Arguments. My Con-  
fidence had less betray'd Myself and My Kingdoms to  
those Advantages, which some Men sought for, who  
want'd nothing, but Power and Occasion to do Mischief.  
Icon Basil. chap. 1.

the first expresses it in his *Icon Ba-  
silike*, \* where He Reflects on  
some *fatal Mistakes* of this kind  
committed by Himself. For *Reason*  
being a *Beame* of the *Divinity*, his  
of itself no false *Byass*, but tends  
always towards *Truth*, as the *Sea-  
man's Needle* does to the *North-  
pole*; so that it is not very difficult  
for a *serious Enquirer* to distinguish  
between *true* and *apparent Reasons*  
in matters of *Right* and *Wrong*,  
when both are plainly laid before  
him. But if instead of making a  
due *Enquiry* into the *Truth*, he  
hears only one *Party*, or leaves the  
decision of *Justice* to a sort of *Lot-  
tery*, as a *Gamester* ventures his  
*Guineas* at Hazard, there is no

real o



reasoning in that *Case*, but to leave him to take his *Chance*, whether he shall be Miserable or Happy, whether *Heaven* or *Hell* shall be his *Portion*.

Yet this is not to be understood, as if the Punishment of *Publick Injustice* were always reserv'd for the *World to come*; for we find that even in this *Life* signal Judgements have fallen very often upon such *Offenders*, tho' not so frequently upon *themselves*, as upon their *Posterity*, even to the *third and fourth Generation*: Of which we have a most *Remarkable Instance* in the case of the *Gibeonites*, \* who by a plaine trick surpriz'd *Joshua* into a *Promise* of sparing their *Lives*, and when that was discover'd, were content to become *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water* to the *Israelites*, rather than be quite extirpated; Nevertheless, when *King Saul* (out of a very good *Motive* in appearance, that is, out of zeal to the

Publick  
Injustice  
cries for  
Publick  
vengean-  
ce.

\* *Joshua*  
9. 4, 15.

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the *Children of Israel*, \* as it is expressly remark'd in *Holy Scripture*) took an occasion to destroy these miserable *Slaves*, altho' himself and his Son *Jonathan* came soon after to an untimely End, yet so far was that heavy Judgement from satisfying the *divine Justice*, that in *K. David's* time the hand of *God* came upon the whole *Country* for three years together, and was not taken off, untill seven of *Saul's* Posterity were sacrific'd, to atone for the Cruelties by him committed upon the poor *Gibeonites*, contrary to the *Publick Faith* given them by *Joshua*. There is no doubt but *God* is infinitely *Merciful*, and it is well for us all, that he is so; yet he does not Pardon all Crimes alike; For *Privat* or *Personal Offences* he is very apt to forgive upon a sincere *Repentance*, but *National Injuries* he never forgets without a *Full and Ample Reparation*.

But

But enough of this Point at present: Let us now take a View of the very *Machine*, which has compleated the *Mystery of Iniquity*, I mean the wicked *Acts of Settlement*; the *Settlement* indeed of *Rebels and Traitors*, but the *Ruine of Loyal Subjects*. This *Idol*, this great *Diana of the Ephesians*, consists of several *Parts*, viz. First, The *King's Declaration* for the *Settlement* of *Ireland*: Secondly, His *Instructions for the Execution of the said Declaration*: Thirdly, the *Act* it self, or the *Parliament's* worthy *Comment* upon Both: And in the *Rear* of all comes up the *Dragon's Tail*, the famous *Act of Explanation*. Where it is to be observ'd, that the *Cromwellians* of *Ireland* were so sensible of the *Unreasonableness* of what they gain'd at long run, that they had not the face to propose it in the beginning; but working like *Moles* under ground, and by degrees growing bold with

The Act  
of Settlement  
ment  
partly  
Anatomiz'd.

their unexpected Success, they gain'd at length three times more than they wou'd have freely compounded for upon the *King's Restoration*. And this is the true Reason why the whole Settlement is but a continued series of Contrarieties and Contradictions, so palpably repugnant the one to the other, that the Wit of Man cannot reconcile them. For in the Declaration there are several Clauses, which tended so far to do Justice to the Irish, that if these had been made good, many thousands of the Natives wou'd of course have been Restor'd: To prevent therefore so dangerous a Piece of Justice, the Instructions were soon after designedly fram'd to restrain that Latitude in the Declaration; And most of the Favorable Clauses then remaining were cut short by the several Provisoes inserted in the Act; And last of all, the small Gleanings then

then left were intirely swept away by the *Act of Explanation*, by which all were barr'd for ever, except a few *Proviso-men* mention'd in the *Act*, and some others, who a little before had the good Luck to pass the *Tryall of Ordeal* in the *Court of Claimes*.

The *Irish Catholics*, who then expected to be restor'd to their former *Possessions*, were under three several *Qualifications*: First, The *Innocents*, who never bore Arms with the *Confederates* before the *Peace* of 48 was concluded: Secondly, those they call'd *Ensign-men*, who had serv'd beyond Sea under his *Majestie's Ensigns* during his *Exile*: And Lastly, such of the *Confederates* as were entitl'd to claime the Benefit of *Publick Faith* engag'd to them by the said *Peace*. The *King* was fully resolv'd to do *Justice* to all these; For, as to the *Innocents*, their very *Enemies* had not Impudence enough to offer

The Ca-  
tholicks  
entitl'd  
to Estates  
in Ire-  
land.

thing against their being restor'd:  
 And for the *Ensign-men*, they de-  
 serv'd so well of the King abroad,  
 and their *Services* were so fresh in  
 his *Memory*, that none durst move  
 directly to have them excluded:  
 And even for the rest, who had  
 nothing to plead but the *Peace* of  
 48, so sensible was his *Majestic* of  
 the *indispensable Obligations*, that lay  
 upon him both in *Honour* and *Con-*  
*science*, to make good the said *Peace*,  
 that he caus'd a *Clause* to be in-  
 serted in the *Declaration*, in these  
 words: *We cou'd not forget the*  
*Peace, that Ourself was afterwards*  
*necessitated to make with Our Irish*  
*Subjects, in the time when they, who*  
*wickedly usurp'd the Authority in*  
*this Kingdom, had erected that odious*  
*Court for the taking away the Life*  
*of our dear Father . . . . . And there-*  
*fore We cou'd not but hold Ourself*  
*oblig'd to perform what we owe by*  
*that Peace to those, who had ho-*  
*nestly and faithfully perform'd what*  
*they*



they had promis'd to Us, &c. \*

\* Irish  
Statutes,  
page  
506.

On the other side, The Cromwellians and their hir'd Partizans at Court, finding the King so resolute in the matter, and not daring directly to oppose such Honorable and Kinglike Intentions, seem'd to go along with him in the same Sentiments; but as they went this Politick *Tour à la mode*, they cunningly contriv'd to put such Rubs in his Way, as brought him insensibly to their own Point. For in the first place, they made his Majestie believe, and laid it as a *fundamental Maxim*, that there were forfeited Lands more than enough in Ireland to satisfy all just Pretenders: Then they represented, it was but Reasonable that the new-Interest Protestants shou'd be first provided for, at least that they shou'd be settl'd next after the Innocent Papists. And these two Points being granted, and establish'd as the Foundation of the whole Fabrick, the wildest Secta-

ries and rankest Fanaticks in the three Kingdoms, who had nothing of Christianity but the Name, having alwayes been as Atheistical in Religion as Antimonarchical in reference to Government, became all of a sudden, under this Protestant Cloak, the Darlings both of Church and State. A most blessed Reformation.

The  
Adventu-  
rers  
Title.

Now these Protestants, who were thus to be secur'd of new Estates in Ireland, were likewise of three Sorts: First, the Adventurers, who for dogcheap Bargains of Irish Lands advanc'd several sums of Money in London upon the Credit of the Acts 17. and 18. Caroli, for reducing the Rebels of that Kingdom; The most part of which Money, instead of it's being sent into Ireland, was employ'd by the Rebel-Parliament to raise that Army, which fought the King at Edgehill, and that by the Adventurers own Consent then sitting at Gro-

*Grocers-hall.* This was no Secret, but so well known to K. Charles the first, who caus'd it to be objected to the *Parliament-Commissioners* at the *Treaty of Uxbridge*, that in all his *Proposals* and *Treaties of Pacification* with the *Confederate Irish*, he never made the least mention of the *Adventurers* Title to any *Lands* in that *Kingdom*; which certainly so just a *Prince* as he was known to be, wou'd never have pass'd in Silence, had he believ'd there lay the least *Obligation* upon him by the said *Acts* to make any *Provision* for that *Interest*. And K. Charles the Second was no less sensible of the *Nullity* of their *Title*, as appears by his very *Declaration*, where he sayes: *In the first place, in order to a Settlement of that Interest claim'd by the Adventurers, altho' the present Estates and Possessions they enjoy, if they were examin'd by the strict Letter of the Law, wou'd prove very defective*  
and

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*and invalid, as being no wayes pursuant to those Acts of Parliament, upon which they pretend to be founded, &c. \**

\* Irish  
Stat. page  
507.

Nevertheless, let their *Crimes* be never so great, and their *Title* never so Invalid, never so Unreasonable, secur'd they must be in all their *Possessions*; And not only such *Adventurers* as advanc'd their *Money* upon the Credit of the afore-said *Statutes*, but even those of the *Doubling Ordinance*, who upon the bare *Votes* or *Orders* of the *Rump-Parliament*, zealously advanc'd very considerable *Summs*, on purpose to carry on that *horrid Rebellion* against the *King* in *England*, are \* put upon an equal foot with the former, and both secur'd of large *Estates*, for one or two years *Purchase*.

\* Irish  
Stat. page  
559.

The De-  
benturers  
Title.

Secondly, *Cromwell's Soldiers*, to whom indeed that *Tyrant* was much oblig'd, because they, with the rest of their *Tribe* in *England*, rais'd

BRIEFLY STATED. 93

rais'd him from a mean *Condition* to be absolute *Master* of three *Kingdoms*, for which Service he gave 12 intire *Counties* of *Ireland* to be divided among them: Yet this he intended only by way of *Mortgage* untill their *Arrears* were paid, for he never woud give them any sort of *Letters patent* for those *Estates*, or any other *Grant* than during *Pleasure*; which the *Soldiers* knew so well, that as fast as they cou'd find *Purchasers*, they sold their *Interest* for a song, and others became Rich by the Bargain; because now by the *Declaration* they and their *Assigns* are secur'd in their *Possessions*, which are Settled upon them, not for any limited time, but to them and their *Heirs for ever*. A very noble *Reward* indeed from a *King* for fighting against his *Crown*, when those that fought for it to the last were stript, and sent a begging; A *Reward*, which these *Robels* cou'd never expect from *Cromwell* himself, who

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design'd after a while to dispose of  
those 12 Counties for other Ends  
of his own, and certainly he cou'd  
not but dispose of them to better  
Purpose than the Declaration has  
done.

The 49  
Officers  
Title.

Thirdly, the Officers who had  
serv'd the King in Ireland at any  
time before the fifth of June 1649,  
whose Arrears were summ'd up by  
themselves to eighteen hundred  
thousand pounds sterling. And this  
most extravagant Bill of Accompts,  
whereof the Tenth part cou'd not  
possibly be due, was very readily  
allow'd of by the Adventurers and  
Soldiers, whose Maxim was, *Claw  
me and I will claw you*. For they  
wisely consider'd, that several of  
these 49 Officers had some Colour of  
Merit, while themselves had none  
at all to pretend; And for that rea-  
son they thought it necessary to  
bring them into Play, in order to  
give the better glosse to their Pro-  
ceedings, and to strengthen their In-  
terest.



*Interest.* In consideration therefore  
 of the said pretended Arrears, ( while  
 the brave and truly Loyal Cava-  
 liers of England receiv'd, besides  
 the noisy Grant of a ridiculous Lot-  
 tery, but seventy thousand pounds  
 for all their faithfull Services during  
 the War, and their great Sufferings  
 under the Usurpation ) our 49 Of-  
 ficers were most liberally allow'd  
 all the forfeited Lands of four  
 Counties, and within a Mile of the  
 Shannon or of the Sea in the Pro-  
 vince of Connaght and County of  
 Clare, and all the forfeited Houses,  
 and Tenements in the several wall'd  
 Towns and Corporations in the King-  
 dom, not already sett out to Ad-  
 venturers or Soldiers, together with  
 the Right of Redemption of Mort-  
 gages, Statutes Staple, Judgements,  
 &c. belonging to Catholicks, and  
 over and above all this, a hundred  
 thousand Pounds sterl. in ready  
 Money upon a very frivolous Ac-  
 count: Altho' it was well known,  
 that

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that most of these *Officers*, thus  
bountifully rewarded, either were  
in *actual Rebellion* in Summer 1649  
and for many years before, As the  
*Earl of Orrery*, *E. of Mountcash*,  
*Lord Kingston*, *Lord Coloony*, *Sir*  
*Theophilus Jones*, *Sir Oliver St.*  
*George*, *Sir John Cole*, and several  
others; or did soon after desert the  
*King's Army*, and joine with the  
*Usurper*, for which good *Service*  
they were gratefully recompenc'd  
by *Cromwell* with large *Debentures*  
*Lands*, or other equivalent *Gratui-*  
*ties*. Yet this signified nothing  
against them upon his *Majestie's Re-*  
*stitution*, for not only such of the  
said 49 *Officers* as deserted the *King's*  
*Standard*, but even those who were  
treacherously instrumental in the  
Betraying of several Considerable  
*Towns* and *Garrisons* into the *Usur-*  
*pers* hands, were by the *Act* of  
*Settlement* allow'd their 49 *Arrears*,  
if within two years after that *Act*  
they cou'd make appear to the *Chief*  
Governor

Governor of Ireland, and any six of the Council, that they made SOME REPAIR for their former Faults by their timely, and seasonable Appearance for the King's Restoration \*. And we may be sure, very slight Repairs were thought sufficient to atone for those Venial Slips of our Reform'd Saints: For, even as in John Calvin's new Systeme of Divinity, let the Elect commit never so great Enormities, they are still blameless, still babes of grace, because no Sin can be imputed to them: So it seems, let our godly Reformers be engag'd every Moon in the blackest Treason and Rebellion imaginable, they must pass nevertheless for his Majestie's most Loyal and dutifull Subjects, and never be treated like Rebels, but rather highly rewarded, as if they had done their Prince good Service. But the Reprobate Papists are still to be damn'd as to this World, let them be never so In-

\* Irish  
Statut.  
page 181.

II. Part.

R      nocent,

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*nocent*, and Signalize their *Loyalty* never so much. And therefore altho' the *Declaration* \* made no *Distinction* of 49 *Officers*, whether *Protestant* or *Papist*, but order'd that all shou'd be satisfied equally for their *Arrears*; yet \* by the *In-*  
*structions*, and the subsequent *Acts* of *Parliament*, the *Papists* (except the *Marquess* of *Clanrickard* and Sir *George Hamilton*, who through fa-  
 vor got particular *Proviso*es \*) were utterly excluded, notwithstanding that none of them ever deserted the *King's Standard*, but held out to the last against the *Usurper*.

The late King being thus far wrought, and strangely impos'd upon, to reward his *Inveterate Enemies*, who now became Great by being *thorow-pac'd Rebels*, 'tis needless to wonder that he has made no better *Provision* for his known *Friends*. Yet certain it is, that his *Majestie* was so far from intending to deprive the *Catholicks* of  
 Ireland

\* Irish  
 Statut.  
 page  
 509.

\* Ibid.  
 page 518.

\* Irish  
 Stat. page  
 879. 288.

*Ireland* of their *Birthrights*, that he was fully resolv'd at first to do them all the Justice imaginable, and wou'd have certainly done it, but that he was *perfidiously* circumvented by those he confided in, who notwithstanding all their pretended *Loyalty*, did alwayes preferre their own *Ends* before their *Prince's Interest*; and therefore took all possible Care to obstruct his *Majestie's* good Intentions towards his *Irish Subjects*.

And in the first place, because the *Innocents* were the only *Catholicks* restorable without *previous RepriZals*, they fram'd ten or eleven *Qualifications* to render it in a manner impossible for any *Irish Catholic* to be adjudg'd *Innocent*; and got the same inserted in his *Majestie's Instructions* for the Execution of the said Declaration, as the *Groundwork* of all their *Proceedings*. In the very first of these \* *Qualifications* it is establish'd, That

Of the Court of Claimes, and Qualifications of Innocent Claimants.

\* Ibid.  
p. 525.

none should be restor'd as an Innocent Papist, who being of full Age and sound Memory, enjoy'd his Estate Real or Personal in the Rebels Quarters: By which Clause alone we may easily judge of the rest, and discover what little Justice the Irish were to expect. For, upon this account, not only those that liv'd peaceably in the Country, and never took Arms either one side or other, but also such of them as were actually in the King's Service in England, if they receiv'd but the least benefit out of their Estates in Ireland at any time during the War, were to be deem'd Nocent, and their Estates conferr'd upon those, who at the same time zealously fought against the King.

For the Tryall of these Innocents, under the severe Qualifications aforesaid, a Court of Claimes was created in Dublin, just after the Model fram'd by Cromwell, in the year 1654, for the Transplantees of  
 Con-



BRIEFLY STATED. OF

Connaght, and County of Clare,  
with this only Difference, that the  
Usurper's Court was much the more  
Impartial of the two; For, in the  
first, whether the *Cromwellians* wan-  
ted Money to suborn Witnesses,  
or were not so well acquainted  
with the profligate Wretches, who  
were ready to earne their Bread  
with the swear of their *Conscience*,  
few of those *mercenary Villains*  
were produc'd, in comparison of  
the later, where they appear'd in  
great Shoales, and wanted not the  
Countenance and Favor of the  
Court. And in the former, the  
few *Catholicks* that mov'd for a  
*Transplanted Interest*, were not stin-  
ted in point of time to make out  
their *Claimes*; but in the later, six  
months were hardly allow'd for  
hearing all the *Claimants* in the  
*Kingdom*; For, the Court sate but  
on the 15. day of February 166 $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  
and ended about the middle of  
August following: During which

time near upon a Thousand *Catholics* came to a *Trial*, and no less than the one half were Decreed *Innocent*, notwithstanding all the *rigid Qualifications* and *suborn'd Witnesses* against them, who appear'd in such *Swarms*, that it wou'd require a large Volume to give but a Summary Account of all their *Villanous Practices* upon this Occasion; for which Reason I think it needless to descend to Particulars. Yet one *Instance* I cannot omit, because the *Gentleman* himself is still in being, and at this time in *France*, and has at least one Living *Witness* of the *Injustice* done him now at the Court of *S. Germain*. Mr *Francis Betagh* of *Moy-nalty*, whose *Ancestors* for seven or eight hundred years together were in the *Possession* of a *Considerable Estate* in the *County of Meath*, was but nine years of Age in *October* 41; yet he was sworn in the *Court of Claimes* to have been then

in actual *Rebellion*, at the head of a *Foot-Company*, plundering and stripping the *Protestants*, and that by two of the meanest *Scoundrels* of the whole *Kingdom*, hir'd for the purpose, whereof one was then and there prov'd not to have been three years old at the time of that *Insurrection*, and the other no way qualified to be believ'd, when the *Gentry* of the whole *County* declar'd and testified the Contrary. Nevertheless, upon the bare *Oathes* of these Fellows, the *Gentleman* was adjudg'd *Nocent* by the *Court*; And altho' the *Perjury* was afterwards more fully detected, insomuch that *Sir Richard Rainsford*, Chief *Commissioner* or *Judge* of that *Court*, when the *Marchioness* of *Antrim* expostulated the matter with him, plainly acknowleg'd the *Injustice* of it, to herself, to the now *Earl* of *Limerick*, and to other *Persons* of *Quality*; yet no *Redress* cou'd be had for the *Gentleman*, nor any  
Re.

*Remedy* to be expected, while the *Enchantment* of the *Act* of *Settlement* was of force.

The  
Catho-  
licks  
condem-  
n'd un-  
heard.

By these abominable *Practices* some hundreds of *ancient* and *Loyal* *Gentlemen* were stript of their *Birth-right*, being thus incurably infected by the poisonous Breath of profligate Wretches; But the matter of 7000 *Claimants* more that remain'd, cou'd not obtain even somuch *Justice* or *Satisfaction* as to have this *very Chance* for the *Inheritance* of their *Fathers*. For, altho' they had asmuch *Right* to be heard as the Other, because *every one is to be reputed Innocent, till he is prov'd the contrary*; yet they were then put off for want of time, and never allow'd any sort of *Tryall* from that day to this; but rather to cut off all future Hopes, a new *Act* was soon after fram'd, call'd the *Act* of *Explanation*, very Remarkable for the following *Clause*, by which they are for ever debarr'd;

BRIEFLY STATED FOR  
debar'd: It is hereby declar'd, that  
no person or persons, who by the  
Qualifications in the said former Act  
hath not been adjudg'd Innocent,  
shall at any time hereafter be reputed  
Innocent, so as to claime any Lands  
or Tenements hereby vested, or be  
admitted to have any benefit or al-  
lowance of any future adjudications  
of Innocence, or any benefit of Arti-  
cles whatsoever \*.

\* Irish  
Status.  
page  
800.

After this Unchristian, or ra-  
ther Inhumane, Usage to so many  
Thousands of Innocent Persons,  
who are thus Condemn'd unheard,  
a Practice never known amongst  
any civiliz'd Heathens, it cannot  
seem very strange that the Loyall  
Ensign-men were ungratefully dealt  
with, for all their signal Services  
and Sufferings during the King's  
Exile. Tis true, his Majesty was  
resolv'd, as I hinted before, to do  
Justice to all his Irish Subjects,  
especially his Ensign-men and some  
other meriting Persons, for whom

he caus'd a particular *Proviso* to be inserted in the *Declaration*. But the *Caball*, to render this good *Intention* ineffectual, having first possess'd his *Majesty* with the *Fancy*, that he had *Forfeited Lands* more than enough in *Ireland* to satisfy all *just Pretenders*, obtain'd the small *Favor* for their dear *Adventurers* and *Soldiers*, who were undoubtedly *very worthy men* in old *Shaftsbury's* Dialect, that they shou'd not be remov'd for any *Ensign-man*, or *meriting Person* whatsoever, before they were assign'd *Reprizals* of equal *Value*, *Worth* and *Purchase*, which they well knew, was not to be had in *Europe*, as matters were manag'd, unless *Obrafile* was discover'd, or a new *Ireland* created. And having gain'd that maine Point, which prov'd a *Padlock* upon all the *Favors* intended by the *King* for the *aforesaid Loyalists*, they got this *wonderfull Reason* to pass for it in the *Declaration*:



tion: The Irish, for whom We do hereby intend Satisfaction, are such who have been abroad with Us, who probably being not furnish'd with Stock or other Provisions, may with less Inconvenience waite for a Repri-  
 zals, than to dispossess others (who no doubt had by that time well fea-  
 ther'd their Nests by their ill-got  
 Estates, tho' poor enough, as be-  
 came such pitiful Mechanicks, com-  
 ing out of England) especially, since  
 We are fully assur'd, that a very  
 short time will assign them their res-  
 pective Repri-  
 zals, there being so  
 good and large a Proportion of undis-  
 pos'd forfeited Lands in Our Power  
 reserv'd for this Purpose \*. Which  
 Sublime Fancy is in plaine English  
 to this Effect: Because the Crom-  
 wellians of Ireland are of late us'd  
 to fare very well, having acquir'd  
 by fighting against Me plentiful  
 Estates and considerable Stocks to  
 live upon, 'tis not convenient to  
 disturb them; but My Ensign-men  
 have

\* Irish  
 Statut.  
 pag. 517.

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have quitted all at home, and cheerfully endur'd *Starving*, and several other *Hardships*, to serve Me abroad, 'tis reasonable therefore they shou'd *Starve on*, til I provide for them on *Doomesday* in the Afternoon. I must confess, I cannot possibly believe, that the *late King* intended to use these *Loyalists* after so strange a manner; but that they were actually serv'd so, is most certain and undenyable. Neither can any *Prince*, who suffers Himself to be led by such *Wicked Councillors*, reasonably expect ever to do better.

Now as soon as the *Caball* had gain'd this single Point, *That the Adventurers and Soldiers shou'd not be remov'd without previous Reprizals*, their next great *Business* was, to take Care that no *Reprizals* shou'd be left, and consequently none of the said *Meriting Persons* ever Restor'd; to the End that this *Usage* might for the future prove  
an

an *Encouragement* to their own *Party* to pursue their *Good Old Cause*, and a *Warning-piece* to Others not to play the *Fool* for *Loyalty*. To compleat therefore so material a *Project*, Matters were so cunningly contriv'd by them, that all the undispos'd *forfeited Lands* were given away in most *prodigal Grants* to *Ormond*, *Anglesey*, *Orrery*, *Coote*, *Kingston*, and other *Grandeess*; and great *Proportions* for *Pious Uses* forthwith, to make themselves *Friends of the Mammon* \* of *Unrighteousness*, of which the *College of Dublin* and several *Free-schools*, their *Bishops* and others of their *Clergy* had considerable *Shares*, besides a great many *Gifts* and *Grants* to Others, who were no way qualified by the *Declaration* to have any such *Provision* made for them. And all this was industriously carried on, as I hinted before, to the End that the *Stock of Reprizals* might be so far exhausted, that nothing shou'd

Grantees obtain unreasonable Grants.

\* LUKE  
16. 9.

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be left to Reprize the *Cromwellians*, who without such *Reprizals* were not to budge, or quit their *Possession* of those *Gentlemen's Estates*, whom the King intended to *Restore*, either as *Officers* that serv'd Him abroad, or *Special Provisamen*, or as *Persons* entir'd to the *Peace* of 48; Which wicked *Contrivance* took so effectually, that not one Man of all these was ever Restor'd to his *Birthright*, notwithstanding all the *fair Promises* given, and the *seeming Provision* made for them by the *Declaration*; Insomuch that even the 54 *Nominees* ( who by *special Interest* and *Favor* got a *Proviso* in the *Act of Explanation* \* to have their respective *Mansion-houses* or *Principal Seates*, and 2000 *Acres* of *Land* thereunto adjoining ) found themselves *Nominees* in good earnest, that is, *Nomine Restorable*, non Re; according to *Orrery's Ironical Rail-lery*; For very few of them got any

\* Irish  
Stat. page  
863.

BRIEFLY STATED. III

any considerable *Advantage*, and none at all, that ever I cou'd find, the full *Benefit* of that *Clause*, for want of *Reprizals* to be first assign'd to the *Cromwellian Possessors*. And to make them all set their hearts at rest, or rather to deprive them of their very *Hopes*, the \* *Clause* formerly mention'd was inserted in this *famous Act of Explanation*, which debars them for ever of all *future Relief*. And as a further *Addition* to their *Comfort*, these *Mighty Solons* well knowing that they observ'd neither *Law* nor *Gospel* in their *Proceedings*, but that their whole *Fabrick* was a meer *Babel*, compos'd of so many strange *Incoherences*, palpable *Absurdities*, and irreconcilable *Contradictions*, that the Ablest *Lawyers* in *England* often declar'd, they knew not how to ground an *Opinion* in *Law* upon such a *Sandy Foundation*, found the Way at last to make all this *Mist* appear as clear for their

\* *Irish*  
Statutes,  
page  
800.

Purpose as the *Sun* at *Noonday*, and that with as much *Ease* as the *Macedon Youth* untied the *Gordian Knot*: For they only declar'd and Enacted, that if any *Doubt* shou'd arise on any *Clause* in either of the said *Acts*, the same shou'd be alwayes construed in favor of the *Protestant*, as being principally intended to be settled and secur'd \*.

\* Irish  
Stat. page  
228.

This was going through *stitch* with the *Business*, and it was indeed the *finishing Stroke* of the whole *Work*, which has compleated the *Mystery of Iniquity* beyond all manner of *Dispute*, and left the poor *Catholicks* no *Room* to demand or expect *Justice*, at least from *Cromwellian Judges* and *Juries*.

Thus were these unfortunate *Loyalists* utterly disappointed, notwithstanding their great *Hopes* reasonably grounded on their many *Services* to the *King* both at home and abroad, and his *Majestie's* repeated *Promises* to them upon that  
Ac-



Account; And after all their *re-*  
*ditions* and *chargeable Attendance*  
 about Court, no other *Provision* was  
 made for them but to live upon  
 the *Air*, till God was pleas'd to call  
 both them and their *King* to State  
 their *Accompts* in the other World;  
 where, I am sure, *Starv'd Honesty*  
 is of greater *Value* than the *Empire*  
 of the *Universe* either ill acquir'd,  
 or unjustly administr'd: Because,  
 as *K. Charles* the first most excellent-  
 ly words it, *As many Kingdoms as*  
*the Devil shew'd our Saviour, and*  
*the Glory of them (if they cou'd be*  
*at once enjoy'd)* are not worth the  
 gaining, by *Wayes of sinful Ingra-*  
*titude and Dishonour*, which ha-  
 zards a Soul worth more Worlds than  
 this hath Kingdoms \*. For, it is a  
 true and sure saying, *Deus non ir-*  
*ridetur* \*, God is not to be laugh'd  
 at by *Worldly Greatness*, but is ra-  
 ther provok'd to deal more severe-  
 ly with *Sovereign Princes* for their  
*Injustice*, because they are accoun-

T iij      table

\* Icon  
 Basil.  
 chap. 5.  
 \* Gal.  
 6. 7.

\* Psal.  
94. 10.

table to none for their *Actions*, but to himself alone; For which Reason the *Royal Prophet* thus very *Pathetically* speaks to the Almighty; *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have Fellowship with Thee, which frameth Mischief by a Law* \*? But his wise Son, *K. Solomon*, while inspir'd by the *Holy Ghost*, treats more fully of the matter in his admirable *Book of Wisdom*, Chap. 6. where he sayes: *Iniquity shall lay waste the whole Earth, and Ill-dealing overthrow the Thrones of the Mighty. Hear therefore, O ye Kings, and understand; Learn ye, that be Judges of the Ends of the Earth. Give ear, you that Rule the People, and glory in the Multitude of Nations. For Power is given you of the Lord, and Sovereignty from the Highest, who shall try your Works, and search out your Counsels. Because being Ministers of his Kingdom, you have not Judg'd aright, nor kept the Law, nor walk'd after the Counsel of God;*  
Hor-

*Horribly and speedily shall he come upon you; For a sharp Judgement shall be to them that be in High Places, For, Mercy will soon Pardon the Meanest, but the Mighty shall be mightily tormented. For he, which is Lord over all, shall fear no Man's Person, neither shall he stand in Awe of any Man's Greatness; for he hath made the Small and the Great, and careth for all alike.*

The Consideration of this necessary Point of Christian Doctrine; which mainly concerns all Men in Power, but more peculiarly Sovereign Princes, made K. Charles the first express himself so feelingly about Strafford's illegal Attainder; Jam so far, sayes he \*, from excusing or denying that Compliance on my part (for plenary Consent it was not) to his Destruction, whom in my Judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of Death, that I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater Regret; which, as a  
sign

\* Icon  
Basil.  
chap. 22

sign of my Repentance, I have often with sorrow confess'd both to God and Men, as an Act of sinful Frailty, that discover'd more a Fear of Man than of God, whose Name and Place on Earth no Man is worthy to bear, who will avoid Inconveniences of State by Acts of so high Injustice, as no Publick Convenience can expiate or compensate. . . . Nor has God's Justice fail'd in the Event and sad Consequences, to shew the World the Fallacy of that Maxim, Better one Man perish, tho' unjustly, than the People be pleas'd or destroy'd. . . . This Tenderness and Regret I find in my Soul, for having had any hand, and that very unwillingly God knows, in shedding one Man's Blood unjustly, tho' under the Colour and Formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoiding Publick Mischief.

Now if this good, tho' unfortunate, King was so deeply touch'd for having given way to the  
Fury

Fury of an *ungovernable Faction* against the *Life* of one *Man* only ; who was undenyably guilty, altho' not of *Treason* ; yet of several other *Enormities* during his *Government* of *Ireland* ; how much, must we think, he wou'd have been concern'd, had he had the *Misfortune* of Passing the *unparallel'd Act* of *Settlement*, which wanted on the one hand such pressing *Motives* as attended *Strafford's Attainder*, and plainly expos'd on the other, instead of one *single Sufferer*, who upon the maine was not *guiltless* ; the *Lives* of many *Thousands* of *Innocent* and *Loyal Persons*, not to a *speedy Death*, for that wou'd have been a sort of *Mercy*, but to a tedious *Lingring* one, by *unavoidable Starving* ? An *Act* of *Accumulative Injustice* in plaine Terms, by which the *Worst* of *Traitors*, and the *Vilest* of *Republican Rebels*, were most prodigally *Rewarded* ; *Loyal Subjects*, that had for many

years signaliz'd themselves in the Service of the Crown, not only disappointed of their deserv'd and promis'd *Recompence*, but condemn'd unheard, and strip of their very *Birthright*, to gratify their *Enemies*; A vast number of Poor *Widows* and *Orphans* sent a Begging; *Publick Faith* notoriously violated; And to summe up the whole Matter in few Words, *Justice* perverted in all it's *Branches* and *Degrees*.

There is no doubt but the late *King* was grossely abus'd and impos'd upon by his wicked *Ministers* to suffer all this *Injustice* to Pass for his *Act* and *Deed*; but then the *Question* naturally arises, who oblig'd him to employ such *Ministers*, or at least to allow them the *Latitude* to abuse his *Regal Authority* at such a prodigious Rate? I am sure, he had done infinitely better, if according to \* *Solomon's* Advice he had *hearken'd to the In-*

\* *Prov.*  
1. 8.



*Instructions of his Royal Father, who by a dear bought Experience, found how fatal it was to a Crown'd Head, to trust People of such Principles with the weighty Affairs of his Government; And therefore in his last \* Advice to the Prince of Wales he leaves him for a Legacy this most Excellent Lesson: My Counsel and Charge to you is, that you seriously consider the former real or objected Miscarriages, which might occasion my Troubles, that you may avoid them. Never repose somuch upon any Man's single Counsel, Fidelity, and Discretion, in managing Affairs of the first Magnitude, that is, Matters of Religion and Justice, as to create in yourself or others a Diffidence of your own Judgement, which is likely to be alwayes more Constant and Impartial to the Interest of your Crown than any Man's . . . . . With an Equal Eye and Impartial Hand distribute Favors and Rewards to all men, as you find*  
*them*

them for their real goodneſſ both in  
 Abilities, and Fidelity capable of  
 them. This will be ſure to gaine  
 you the Hearts of the Beſt, and of  
 the Moſt too; who, tho' they be not  
 good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee  
 the ſeverer Wayes of Vertue at any  
 time ſweeten'd by Temporal Rewards.  
 Theſe are moſt Excellent Documents  
 indeed, vaſtly different from that fa-  
 mous Maxim of old Clarendon, Make  
 mach of your Enemies, and your  
 Friends will do you no Harm; which  
 yet being unluckily preferr'd befo-  
 re the other, was practis'd ſo long  
 after the Reſtoration, that not only  
 ſuch as were Neuters or Indifferent,  
 but even thoſe, who till then were  
 faſt Friends to the Crown, became  
 at laſt it's ſevereſt Enemies: Where-  
 fore ſince Experience is the Mo-  
 ther of Knowledge, we cannot but  
 conclude, that the former Rule is  
 good and ſolid, but the later moſt  
 pernicious to Government. But what  
 Our Royal Author adds a litle after,  
 towards

towards the Conclusion of this his Fatherly Advice, speaks somuch Greatness of Mind and Christian Resignation, that I cannot in Justice to his Memory pass it over in Silence: If neither I nor you be ever Restor'd to Our Rights, but God in his severest Justice will punish My Subjects with continuance in their Sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the Prosperity of their Wick- edness; I hope, God will give Me and you that Grace, which will teach and enable Us to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up or enjoying, upon Sor- did, Dishonorable, or Irreligious Terms.

Had these solid and wholesome Instructions been duely observ'd in the last Reign, neither English Ca- valier, nor Irish Loyalist shou'd now have any such Cause of Complaint, nor the \* Crown perhaps be obno-

\* Because  
of un-  
righteous  
Dealings,  
Injuries,  
and Ri-

ches got by Deceit, the Kingdom is translated from one Peo- ple to another; saith the Son of Syrach. Eccles. 10. 8.

xious to such *Strange Revolutions* as the *World* has of late been astonish'd at. And as for the *Excuse* alleag'd, I think it is but a very sorry one for a *Christian Prince*, to throw the Blame of *publick Acts of Injustice* upon his *Ministers*, since it cannot be denyed but that He Himself is nevertheless *Answerable* in the sight of *God* for all the *Wrongs* committed. For, in all *Tribunals* the *Principal* is still accountable for the *Actions* of his *Deputy*; And it is a *Rule* in *Reason*, approv'd of by the very *Heathens*, That *Men in Power* are reckon'd to authorize those *Crimes*, which they can, and will not, hinder. *Qui non vetat peccare, cum possit, jubet.* Neither is *Holy Writ* less plaine in the matter; For to say nothing of *K. Ahab* (who had no hand in the *Murder* of *Naboth*, but that his \* *Name* and his *Seal* were made use of, and yet his *Sentence* is pronounc'd by

\* 1. Kings  
21. 8.

by \* *Gods* own appointment, as if he had acted all himself) we have a dreadfull *Example* of it in the *Case* of *Eli* the *High* priest, who after he had judg'd *Israel* 40 years, came to a miserabe End for *Crimes* committed, not by himself, but by his \* *Reprobate Children*; And as a further judgement upon him for tolerating such Wickedness in persons under his immediate Care, the *High Priesthood* is quite transferr'd into another Family.

\* Ibid.  
v. 19.

\* 1. Sam.  
3.13. &c.

This puts me in mind of a very *Notable Passage* in *Mr de Balzac's* Ingenious *Aristippus*, where having lively describ'd, in his *seventh Discourse*, the *Mischiefs* too frequently committed by wicked *Ministers* and *Insolent Favorites*, he thus finely Reasons upon the matter: *All this while the Prince commits no Sin, and yet he forbears not to be Guilty. His Ignorance is unpardonable, his Patience is no Vertue; and all the Disorder, which either*

he knows not of, or which he tolerates, is imputed to him before God, as if himself had committed it. With a great deal of Reason therefore that Prince, who was according to God's own Heart, desires him in expresse terms, and that in the fervency of his most ardent Prayers, that he wou'd Cleanse him from secret Faults, and acquit him from the sins of Others. Now this last Word does it not plainly imply, that Kings ought not to content themselves with a Personal and particular Innocence; and that it matters not for them to be Just as to their own Actions, if they lose themselves by the Injustice of their Ministers?

And here ( continues the same Aristippus ) I cannot omit an extraordinary Rapture formerly express'd to this Purpose by a Religious man of Italy in a Sermon he preach'd before a Prince of that Country, wherein as he discours'd of the Duties of Sovereigns, he all of a sudden



den breaks forth in these words, addressing himself to the Prince: Last night, Sir, I had a very strange vision; Methought the Earth open'd before me, and I distinctly look'd into the Center thereof. I consider'd the Torments of the other Life, and all that terrible Train of God's Justice, since which my Imagination is scarce well reassum'd. Amongst the Wicked of former Ages I knew a great many of this; Detractors, Murderers, Impious persons, and Hypocrites, ran thither in great Troops, and crowded at the brim of this Gulf; but having observ'd in their Lives the visible Marks of their Reprobation, I thought it not strange to see them arrive whereto I had seen them march. What astonish'd me extremely above all was, that I perceiv'd your Highness in this unhappy Throng, which was at the brink of Destruction. And even as I was thus surpriz'd, and affrighted by the Novelty of such an unexpe-

*et* Encounter, I cryed out to your Highness, Is it possible that a Man shou'd damn himself by praying to God, and that you shou'd go to Hell, You Sir, who are the best and most Religious Prince in the World? Whereupon your Highness answer'd me with a Sigh, I do not go, Father, but I am led thither.

On the other side, altho' we shou'd wave all thoughts of another Life, and fancy with those mention'd in \* *Holy Scripture*, or with the purblind Philosophers of Antiquity, either that there is no divine Providence, or that it takes no Care of humane Affairs; yet if we seriously consider how Justice has in all Ages been reputed so Noble and so Divine a Perfection, deservedly stil'd by \* *Cicero*, The Mistress and Queen of all Vertues, that not only the Wisest among the Heathens ever held it for a Fundamental Maxim, *Fiat Justitia & ruat Cælum*, but even the most

Pro-

♦ *Psalm.*  
14. 1.  
Nubes la-  
tibulum  
ejus, nec  
nostra  
confide-  
rat, &  
circa car-  
dines  
Cæli per-  
ambulat.  
*Job.* 22.  
14.  
\* *Lib.* 3.  
*de Offic.*

*Profligate of Mankind* did alwayes love and admire it in those they dealt with, whence it became a Proverb, *Iustitia etiam inter Latrones*; We cannot but still conclude, that Nothing is more *Impolitick* in a Prince than to commit any *Publick Injustice*, because Nothing can render him more *Odious* to his People; For, as the *Saying* is, He threatens many, that injures any, *Multis minatur qui facit uni injuriam*; And as *Sovereigns* do sometimes love the *Treason*, yet still hate the *Traitor*, let his *Services* be never so considerable; so are *unjust Princes* evermore hated by their *Subjects*, even by those who are *Gainers* by the *Injustice*, because this gives them *Reason* to apprehend, it may be their own turn one day or other to be serv'd by him in the same manner.

No *King* since the *Creation* of the *Universe* has prov'd so *bountiful* to the worst of *Rebels* at the Cost  
of

of his *faithful Subjects*, as *Charles* the Second has done to the *Cromwellians* of *Ireland*; yet so far was this extraordinary *Bounty* from gaining their *Affection*, that in 1663, they fram'd a *general Conspiracy* against him, which being seasonably discover'd in *Dublin*, was hush'd for that time with the *Execution* of three insignificant fellows; while the *Ring-Leaders*, who were thought able to break through the *Cob-web Law*, with all the rest of their *Fellow-traitors*, were fully pardon'd their justly forfeited *Lives*, and their unjustly acquir'd *Estates*. But altho' the *King* forgave the *Plotters*, they never intended to forgive Him, and therefore about the year 1671, they fell to work againe in order to renew the same *Design*; but that also being nipp'd in the bud, and stiff'd without any *Bloodshed*, they thought fit to lie by for a while, until *Oates's Plot* in 79 inspir'd them with new *Courage*.  
Then

Then they appear'd *barefac'd*, and none cou'd be more *Violent* than they for unhinging the *Government*, by their *Sham - Plots* and *Impudent Addresses* for Carrying on the *Anarchical Bill of Exclusion*. And when that *Project* happily miscarried, they were all Ready, had the *Expected Blow* been given by the *Rye-house Conspirators*, to joine *Heart and Hand* in the *Extirpation* of the *Monarchy* root and branch, in order to clear the *Way*, and make *Room* for their *Darling-Commonwealth*. Behold the blessed *Fruits* of that *Politick Maxim*, *Make much of your Enemies*, &c.

In short, we find by the *experience* of all *Ages*, that *Honesty* is *alwayes the best Policy*, and the only *sure Rule* we can walk by through the *Egyptian Mists* of *human Affairs*. King *Charles* the first, however impos'd upon in the beginning of his *Troubles*, was at last convinc'd of the *Truth* of this, and of the *Fab-*

lary of other *Maxims*, when he deliver'd himself in these most *Christian* Expressions: *God has been pleas'd to send those Judgements upon me, as a means to teach me, That the best Rule of Policy is, to prefer the doing of Justice before all Enjoyments, and the Peace of My Conscience before the Preservation of My Kingdoms* \*. The Case therefore being such, what shall *People* think of those *Statesmen*, who labour night and day to draw their *Sovereign* out of this plaine and *Easy Roade* into the *Narrow Crooked Paths* of their own subtle and *Sel-fish Inventions*? Sure, they cannot be suppos'd to mean well, or to have any better *Design*, than to wheedle their *Master* into a *Labyrinth*, where he must either quite lose *Himself*, or for ever own the *Obligation* to their *Skill*, if they Chance to help Him out of those *Intricacies*, into which themselves had before inveigl'd Him.

Upon

\* Icon  
Basil.  
chap. 2.



Upon the whole matter I think it is but *Reasonable* to conclude, That as there is no *better* or *safer* *Rule of Policy* both for *Prince* and *People*, than to deal *Justly* and *Honestly* with all the *World*; So Nothing is more necessary for *Sovereigns*, than carefully to mark and avoid those, who wou'd perswade them to steer their *Course* by any other *Compass*; Which *Truth* the *Wiseſt* of *Monarchs* was very sensible of, when he pronounc'd that *Excellent Sentence*: *Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be establish'd in Righteousness* \*. For, it is *Evident*, that whoever advises his *Prince*, under the *Notion* of *Politick Convenience*, to Act contrary to the *known Rules* of *Justice*, or to endeavor the *Establishing* his *Throne* upon any other *Foundation* than the *Natural Pillars* of *Government*, *Due Rewards* and *Punishments* im-

pare

\* Prov.  
25. 5.

132 IRELAND'S CASE, &c.  
*partially distributed*, cannot wish  
his *Reign* either *Prosperous* or *La-*  
*sting*, and therefore ought to be  
reckon'd amongst the *Worst* of his  
*Enemies*.

FINIS.



James T. P. 8, 10,